

## House tax bill

It is difficult to write urbanely about the action of the House on February 2 in approving a \$6.5 billion cut in income taxes. The so-called Knutson bill is a purely political maneuver which even its sponsors would not wish to become law; not, that is, if they really and truly, cross-their-hearts, believe in balanced budgets, not to mention debt reduction. It is a dishonest and mischievous piece of legislation which, in the words of that solid pillar of Republicanism, the New York *Herald Tribune*, "corresponds neither to the actual needs of sound budget policy, to the requirements of equitable tax revision, nor to the facts of the existing party balance." What the intelligent voter finds especially exasperating is the fact that many of the 297 members of the House—234 Republicans and 63 Democrats—who voted for the bill recognize its absurdity as clearly as does the *Herald Tribune*, but were led to approve it by the knowledge that an intelligent job of revision would surely be done in the Senate. They felt safe, then, in making a political record that would look good in November to the thoughtless and unwary, in raising a standard to which the stupid and the selfish might repair. Elsewhere on this page is recorded Speaker Martin's indiscriminating attack on critics of Congress. If the House under his leadership continues to perpetrate any more legislation like the Knutson bill, the good old American habit of criticizing the Congress will spread like wildfire. The people may be dumb, but they cannot possibly be so dumb as some politicians imagine.

## Russian rebukes boomerang

Gesticulating again in her role of protector of the "sovereign rights" of other nations and of savior of the peace against American imperialism and war-mongering, Russia has sent four protests whizzing to Washington against alleged American infractions. The presence of American naval forces in Italian waters, ran the first protest, violates the Italian peace treaty and the rights of Italian sovereignty; the second protest claimed that the United States is militarizing Iran and using it as a military base; the third charged that the reconditioning of an airbase in Libya is a threat to peace; the fourth complained that American planes are "buzzing" Russian shipping in waters close to China and Japan. The State Department has flatly and sharply rejected the first three protests; our small forces are in Italy and Iran at the request of the respective governments; the use of the Libyan airfield, arranged by agreement with Great Britain, is only a temporary measure, and by no means prejudices any final disposition of a former Italian territory. It is quite certain that by the time this is read the U.S. will have rejected the fourth protest with equal vigor. Annoying as these constant and querulous complaints are, it would seem that this quite deliberate

strategy may bring about a result the Soviets by no means intend. Italy has already responded to the protest that touches her, and reminded Moscow that she is the judge as to any infringement of her sovereignty; the Iranian Government is in the course of taking a similar step. Russian bluster has the effect of drawing closer together governments that are not Russian-controlled. The frequent repetition of such groundless rebukes from the Kremlin can only hasten the day when the union of the Western nations is an accomplished and happy fact.

## Soviet concept of international law

Apparently the Soviet Embassy in Washington does not keep in step with the course of international policy pursued by Messrs. Molotov and Vishinsky. Such is, at least, one's impression upon reading a recent piece of Soviet semantics for American readers. In an article, "Foreign Policy of the USSR and International Law" (*USSR Information Bulletin*, Jan. 14, 1948), Comrade D. B. Levin, L.I.D., analyzes for us the Soviet concept of international law. After emphasizing that the Soviet state is "a voluntary federation of equal and free nations," (!) the author gives his official views as follows:

The struggle for universal peace and security, for the liberty and equality of the peoples, and the desire for peaceful and democratic international co-operation—these are the fundamentals of Soviet foreign policy. These principles have remained unchanged throughout the history of the Soviet Union.

Conveniently, the Soviet professor omitted bloody conquests by Russia of such neighboring nations as Ukraine (1920), Armenia (1921), Georgia (1921), Azerbaijan (1922), all of which had declared themselves independent and were recognized as such by the Soviets. Nothing is said about the years of blackmail and international uprisings, organized and executed by the Comintern under the guiding hand of the Soviets, as an instrument of foreign policy. Naturally, continues Comrade Levin, when the "imperialistic monopolies of the United States and Great Britain have been trying to enslave smaller countries," the Soviet Union has had to act as "the protector of the sovereignty and equality of large and small nations." We are not at all surprised at this candid presentation of Soviet foreign policy. What really puzzles us is the ignorance of the Western mind and psychology which it betrays.

## Talking the Republic to death

The members of the National Association of Women Broadcasters who listened to Joseph Martin Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, on January 31, may have missed their favorite thrill program; but Mr. Martin did his best to make their flesh creep. There is, he said, a vast and subtle conspiracy to "sabotage our

American system of freedom and bring our people and our government under the sway of an alien ideology and a foreign clique of rulers." Its technique is to undermine public confidence in the Congress through constant criticism in the press and on the air, thus paving the way for concentration of power in the hands of the Executive. The campaign would then be turned against the Executive, and when that department, too, had been undermined, a sudden *coup d'état* would write finis to the Republic. We have to be on guard, he warned, against the "sinister forces which cook up canards," distort the facts and "feed them out for the very specific purpose of discrediting the Congress in the opinion of the people." By all means let us be on guard against swallowing lies as fact. But, by the same token, Speaker Martin should be on guard against magnifying an old (if not too creditable) American custom into a conspiracy. Criticism of the Government is, if anything, milder and more objective in our time than it was of yore. And we willingly tolerate dishonest criticism lest we stifle the useful and honest critics. Speaker Martin's words might well make all criticism look like conspiracy. Congress itself does not help to prevent sabotage of our American freedom when it permits the Rankins and the Eastlands to filibuster to death bills like the FEPC, the anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax bills, and other attempts to guarantee the freedom of all our citizens. Nor does the House of Representatives add to its prestige when it passes a tax-reduction bill obviously geared to the November election rather than the economy of the nation.

### ***Toward world economic and social unity***

The Economic and Social Council, UN's answer to one of the conspicuous structural defects of the League of Nations, convened again at Lake Success last week for its sixth session. This eighteen-member body (in which no one has a veto) meets two or three times each year and has the job of coordinating and promoting activities in the areas of economic and social cooperation. At its last session the Council, among other things, approved plans for the United Nations Appeal for Children and called a United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment at Havana, out of which is expected to develop a new, specialized world agency in that field. The Council has already been responsible for the creation of the International Refugee Organization. When it met on February 2, it had before it an agenda of forty or more items, ranging from the election of a new president to a special appeal of the Federal People's Republic of

Yugoslavia alleging serious damage to the economic recovery of Titoland through the withholding of monetary reserves, including approximately 1,350,000 troy ounces of fine gold, by the United States. The U.S. Government has frozen these assets until American claims against Yugoslavia have been settled. In a sharp thrust at the practices followed by the Soviet Union, the American Federation of Labor has filed a request that the Council take up the question of forced labor throughout the world, with a view to recommending measures for its abolition. The AFL, as an affiliated non-governmental agency, has the unprecedented right to put items on the agenda of the Council. Its rival, the World Federation of Trade Unions, to which the USSR unions belong, enjoys similar prerogatives and, like the AFL, is able to take part (without vote) in discussions affecting its field of interest. The popular and scholarly Charles Malik of Lebanon, an Orthodox Christian from the Arab bloc, who was elected president unanimously despite murmurs from Zionist circles, can be counted on to lead the Council to constructive achievements, even in the face of emergent ideological conflicts.

### ***American-Soviet amenities***

Hearing that Twentieth Century-Fox is working on a picture called "The Iron Curtain," the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship felt called upon to protest, lest Hollywood should cloud the atmosphere of warm, mutual understanding between ourselves and the Soviets which the Council has so successfully promoted. Eric Johnston, however, standing pedantically upon that bourgeois concept of freedom peculiar to our decadent democracy replied: "The screen is free in America and I intend to do everything in my power to keep it free. I am resisting and will continue to resist any attempts to dictate what appears and does not appear on the screen." Not content with thus rebuffing the promoters of international good will, he was crude enough to ask: "What is your organization doing in Russia to promote American-Soviet friendship?" The only possible reply to such crassness is, of course, a dignified silence.

### ***The miners' pension fund***

Under the terms of the agreement signed July 7, 1947 between the bituminous coal operators and the United Mine Workers, there was established the United Mine Workers of America Welfare and Retirement Fund. Financed by a ten-cent tax on every ton of coal mined, this fund was to be administered by a board of three trustees, one representing the operators, one the miners and one the public. Among the duties of the board was the establishment of a pension plan, and for the past five months Messrs. John L. Lewis, the miners' representative, Ezra Van Horn, spokesman for the operators, and the neutral member, Thomas E. Murray, Manhattan industrialist, have been working on the project. It became known more than a month ago that an impasse had been reached. Mr. Lewis demanded a \$100 monthly pension for all miners reaching the age of sixty. Mr. Van Horn promptly rejected the proposal, arguing that the fund

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could not stand pensions of this size. Mr. Murray, who is a reasonable citizen and trusted by both sides, found himself caught in the middle between the high-handed dictatorial methods of Mr. Lewis and the intransigence of the operators. Pending a settlement over disputed actuarial estimates, he proposed a compromise, but neither Mr. Lewis nor Mr. Van Horn would have any of it. On February 2, the operators received a letter from Mr. Lewis in which they were charged with having violated the July 7 agreement—presumably because Mr. Van Horn refused to accept not any pension plan but the one Mr. Lewis proposed—and notified that the UMW “reserves the right, at will, to take any independent action necessary.” Simultaneously with the publication of this letter, Mr. Murray released a statement announcing his resignation, on January 16, from the board of trustees and blasting both Mr. Lewis and Mr. Van Horn for their unwillingness to reach agreement by compromise. Apparently he concluded—and with good reason—that both sides were exerting unfair pressure on him to make a decision that belonged more to collective bargaining than to the administration of a fixed fund. With Mr. Murray’s final statement, “the difficulties should be immediately resolved by the parties to the contract in the national interest,” the public will wholeheartedly agree.

#### ***The lay teacher in Catholic high schools***

In cooperation with a graduate student of Catholic University, the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is making a survey of working conditions of lay instructors in the Catholic high schools of five Middle Atlantic States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland) and of the District of Columbia. Questionnaires have been sent to both school principals and lay teachers. Typical data sought from the principal are: policy in regard to employment of lay instructors, norms of selection, conditions of service, stability of tenure, quality of service and cooperation rendered by the lay instructor. In turn, lay teachers are being asked what preparation for teaching they have had, how much experience, what work load they carry in and out of the classroom and what their working conditions are as regards salary, tenure, leave of absence, sick and retirement benefits. The reason for the survey was stated in these terms by Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt of NCWC: a decline in religious vocations, coupled with a steady increase in high-school enrollments, makes the employment of lay people a necessity. But prevalent false or misleading conceptions, and just plain ignorance, of working conditions in Catholic high schools would make recruitment of qualified lay instructors extremely difficult. So the NCWC Department of Education wants to present, and possibly help to improve, the working conditions of lay teachers in our Catholic schools. It is a much needed study, and preliminary results may suggest extending it to all parts of the country. If lay teachers are an essential and permanent instrument in the Catholic school system—as we believe they are—their status in the system needs to be clearly defined and recognized and made honorable.

#### ***The Church under communism***

“I asked a Catholic priest the other day,” reports correspondent Christopher Rand, writing to the New York *Herald Tribune* from Shanghai on the difficulties of the missions in China vis-à-vis the Communists,

what he thought would happen to the Church under communism. He predicted it would be allowed to function, especially in the big cities, in an increasingly limited way for perhaps twenty years. During this period, he said, the communist movement would consolidate and eliminate, bit by bit, the conflicting groups. The end of this period, the priest asserted, would be the end of the Church here as an institution. He predicted, however, that the Christian religion would continue underground.

Twenty years is the breathing-space allowed if China goes communist. Half way round the world, where governments have gone communist, the breathing-space is just about at an end. Vatican reports give conclusive proof that in Poland, for example, six years of relentless indirect pressure to extirpate Catholicism have now been replaced by a recrudescence of direct persecution. In Galicia, four Catholic bishops have been arrested and deported, seminaries have been closed and the seminarists forcibly inducted into the Soviet Army, all the monasteries of the Redemptorist Fathers closed and their members either arrested or deported. The religious situation in eastern Poland, the Vatican claims, is far worse than anywhere else in Soviet-dominated countries, with the exception of Yugoslavia, where the same tactics of open persecution are being pursued. This coincidence of communist hatred of religion and especially of the Catholic Church in two countries so widely separated in space, in customs, culture and economic conditions points up again the fact that communism is not a mere economic or even a mere political system. It is fundamentally a belligerent materialism. As such it must, of its very nature, war against everything spiritual. That’s why it is impossible to “get along” with communism. Even if we wanted to, we couldn’t; communism wouldn’t let us—it is dedicated to our ruin.

#### ***St. Lawrence Seaway***

A long and important river is the St. Lawrence, and long and tortuous have been the legislative efforts to make its mighty waters available for transport and power. It was almost sixty-five years ago that the first survey was made. A bill is again before Congress, but its passage is unlikely. Projected in the bill are: 1) the improvement of short sections of the existing Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway to provide a continuous channel with a minimum depth of twenty-seven feet, and 2) development of 2,200,000 horsepower in a hydroelectric plant at the International Rapids section of the river. The bill’s proponents point out that it would open cities 2,000 miles inland—like Chicago, Detroit and Duluth—to ocean-going ships, making transshipping of grain, for example, at railheads on the Atlantic unnecessary; that it would tap the largest block of power available for development on the North American continent; that, as a defense measure, it would lessen transportation congestion and



make possible ship repairs far from the danger of sea-board attack. "Sectional prosperity, paid out of the taxes of the whole nation," reply the opponents of the Seaway—who include East Coast and Gulf shippers, the railroads, management and labor in the coal industry and utilities. Foreign shipping would be favored by a channel too shallow for ninety per cent of our vessels, complains the American Merchant Marine Institute. Power can be generated more cheaply by steam, it is argued. And, as for defense, the locks of the canal would be vulnerable to transpolar attack. Canada has already spent more than \$164 million deepening the locks of the Welland Canal which by-passes Niagara Falls. Even so, the \$720 million needed to complete the St. Lawrence project seems too huge a sum to win congressional support in a year that inaugurates the ERP and tax reductions.

### ***The friendly sons of St. Matthew***

Guilds of Catholic doctors, dentists and lawyers are a familiar part of the Catholic scene in America. Their attendance at Mass on their patronal feast days is a public demonstration of their sense of vocation; their assistance is available for diocesan charities; their publications, particularly *The Linacre Quarterly* of the doctors' guild, are representative journals concerned with the Catholic inspiration and implication of their professional lives. From England comes news of another guild, composed likewise of Catholics with a sense of vocation and concerned similarly about the Catholic implication of their livelihood. Named after the tax-official, St. Matthew, the club includes Catholics engaged in banking and finance. The first number of what is to be a publication called *Transactions* (to appear three times a year) shows a studious concern for the actual and intricate fiscal and monetary problems of the day. Corresponding members are invited to apply to Mr. E. Lemmon, 35 Elliscombe Rd., Charlton, London, S.E.7; dues of twenty-one shillings will bring *Transactions* and the discussion papers issued monthly for the "dining membership" of twenty professionally engaged in finance. St. Luke's gospel tells us that it occasioned murmuring when Christ chose to dine with St. Matthew and his publican friends. The Son of God answered that he was needed in those circles. His mind and heart—which is to say His justice and charity as adumbrated in papal pronouncements—are needed in commercial circles in America today. The St. Matthews' Club of London was quite probably inspired by the enterprising *Amis de St.-Mathieu* of Brussels. This may in turn inspire some American counterparts—groups of conscientious Catholic financiers. Having the facts, they can best study the bearing of moral principles in appraising the workings of the financial system.

### ***"Our public schools"***

The general secretary of the Newark, N. J., Ministerial Association didn't like the fact that the superintendent of the Newark schools banned the *Nation* from the public-school libraries. "We have no quarrel with anybody's religious beliefs," he said. "We are not anti-Catholic. But if the Catholic Church is not satisfied with our American

democratic way, and wants to dictate what we can do in our public schools as well as in their parochial schools, they are dead wrong." That, we submit, is a classic example of what Josh Billings once called "knowing so many things that ain't so." The Newark superintendent happens to be a Catholic; therefore he is the Catholic Church acting whenever he does anything that displeases people like the general secretary of the Ministerial Association. Though he was exercising a right which superintendents of schools have exercised freely in other parts of the country, nevertheless *because he is a Catholic*, he is trying "to dictate what we can do in our public schools." "Our public schools" is a pregnant phrase. Catholics, of course, should have nothing to say about how the public schools are run because they have their own system of parochial schools! Skip the fact that Catholics help support the public schools by taxes, send about a million of their children to them, teach in them, occasionally superintend them. Perish the thought that Catholics, as loyal and interested American citizens, have any stake in the public schools. The gentleman of the Ministerial Association didn't want to quarrel with anybody's religious beliefs, nor to be anti-Catholic. He was just all confused and misinformed about what really is the American democratic way. Such was also the confusion in the NEA and Protestant interference in the North College Hill school case. But whereas the Catholic members of the North College Hill school board resigned because of threats and intimidation from un-American pressure groups, the Catholic superintendent of Newark fought for his right before the school board and was firmly upheld.

### ***Most Rev. Francis Clement Kelley***

A monument more enduring than bronze to the Most Reverend Francis Clement Kelley, Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, who died on February 1, is the Church Extension Society which he organized more than thirty years ago. At the altars of hundreds of chapels in the South and Southwest which his energies made possible may his soul be frequently remembered. From their pulpits his talents and charity can best be spoken. Yet AMERICA, too, mourns a friend of long standing who chose to give its readers the first glimpse of his fascinating autobiography, *The Bishop Jots It Down*. A representative of the sterling Catholicism of Prince Edward Island, Bishop Kelley's service as a chaplain in the Spanish-American War introduced him to the larger issues of international affairs. The Missionary Congress he organized at Chicago in the Fall of 1908 marks a turning point in the history of Catholic America in voicing the determination of American Catholics to play their part in shaping the world. Friend of Popes and Presidents, valiant defender of Mexico's persecuted clergy, publicist and poet, Francis Clement Kelley was primarily a priest. His genuine interest in boys produced his *Letters to Jack*, after twenty years still a most readable book. What were probably his last published lines contained a plea for vocations. From his sick bed he dictated for AMERICA an article in praise of the nursing Brothers who cared for him. May he rest in peace.



## Washington Front

There is some possibility of new labor legislation in this session which may reverse the trend shown in the passage of the Taft-Hartley law. For some time it has been apparent that the forty-cents-an-hour minimum established by the Wages and Hours Act is woefully inadequate. Moreover, stories keep coming in of the employment of children, in defiance of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Act. It is recognized also that the Act did not go far enough in including some forms of labor among those it protected by minimum wages.

In the last session, a subcommittee of the House Labor Committee, headed by Representative Hartley, held hearings on proposed amendments to the Wages and Hours Act, but the nature of most of the testimony as well as the trend of questions by members of the subcommittee, showed clearly that the intent was rather to lower the standards of the Act than to raise them. The House committee has taken no action yet one way or the other.

Meanwhile, a group of ten Senators, headed by Mr. Elbert Thomas of Utah, has got the jump on the House by introducing a bill (S.2062) designed to meet some of the conditions I have mentioned. It proposes to raise the floor on wages to seventy-five cents an hour; to cover in its provisions all workers whose labor affects inter-State

commerce; to make the child-labor prohibition all-inclusive, which it is not at present; and to take in agricultural workers on the big and growing industrialized farms.

Among the ten Senators sponsoring the bill are Messrs. Chavez, McGrath, Murray, Myers and Wagner.

The Thomas bill, of course, was referred to Senator Taft's Labor Committee, which will be asked to hold hearings on it. When these will be held is anybody's guess. The sponsors of the bill, naturally, are taking a big risk in putting it out, for there is always the danger, in re-opening an existing law, of having its opponents gang up and make it less effective than it is now. It was a risk, however, that, in view of existing conditions, had to be taken, since the Wages and Hours Act was intended to meet costs of living in 1940, and is now completely unrealistic, if not in fact dangerous.

The bill will undoubtedly be attacked as "inflationary," which, in view of the extremely low income status of its intended beneficiaries, is rather a futile argument, not to say heartless.

Its chances might be said to be good, at least so far as it raises the minimum-wage standard. There are a lot of votes, even in the North, in that wage bracket; though of course most are in the South, where the votes of the low-income people are largely disregarded. What is really in danger in the bill is the part that raises wages of the workers in the agricultural regions.

WILFRID PARSONS

## Under Scorings

Emphatic proof that AMERICA is read in California, and read carefully, is the batch of letters we have received concerning a note in this column of January 24 about Rhodes scholars from Catholic institutions. We had stated that of the 1,126 Rhodes scholars appointed from the U.S. between 1904 and 1939, possibly five were from Catholic colleges. One of the Catholic schools named was St. Ignatius, which we tentatively suggested might be the old St. Ignatius of Chicago, now Loyola University. But seven alert Californians have identified this college for us as the old St. Ignatius of San Francisco, now the University of San Francisco, and the recipient of that Rhodes scholarship as Vincent K. Butler, afterwards a prominent member of the San Francisco bar. Mr. Butler was killed in a plane crash in 1935, en route to Washington, D. C., to try a case before the U.S. Supreme Court. Father Raymond I. Butler, S.J., of Loyola University, Los Angeles, and General Fred Butler, famous in the recent war as leader of "Butler's Task Force" in southern France, are his brothers.

► The Newman Club at Howard University, Washington, D. C., now has a full-time chaplain, Father Martin Jennings of the Society of the Atonement. Of the 600 Cath-

olics among Howard's 6,000 students, some 300, Father Jennings reports, are faithful to their religious duties. Of the remainder somewhat less than a hundred attend Newman Club meetings. Less than five per cent of the Catholics at Howard have had any Catholic education, and it is from this five per cent that the Newman Club gets its staunchest supporters. Currently the Club has established two Catholic Action cells, has volunteered for work with a boys' club and is arranging social and discussion groups to meet students of other Washington colleges. Father Jennings proposes a dissertation for a sociology student: investigate why so many of Howard's Catholics are indifferent to the Church into which they were born. Perhaps it would be possible to investigate the spiritual condition of Catholics in all the colleges for the colored in the nation. The extent of the defection of Catholic Negro youth is a very vital question. A survey might reveal an appalling situation.

► The *Journal-Every Evening* at Wilmington, Delaware, for January 27 (sent by a good friend) reported that Dr. George J. Boines, president of the Wilmington Board of Health, proposes to extend public-health services to the pupils of the city's fourteen parochial schools—for this very sound and simple reason: parochial-school pupils "are just as much children of the city as public-school students and it is the job of the Board of Health to give them health services." Page the NEA and "Protestants and other Americans United"! A.P.F.

# Editorials

## **Austrian solution nearer?**

The suggestion of Secretary of State Marshall that the Big Four deputies meet in London on February 20 to attempt again a draft for the Austrian peace treaty, coming, as it does, on the heels of some "concessions" in Russia's demands on Austria, seems to have aroused cautious optimism in some circles. It may be opportune, therefore, to set the hope against a background of fact.

Sixty-three meetings of the Big Four deputies after the collapse of the London Foreign Ministers' conference had left Austria's problems one-hundred-per-cent unsolved. The question of what assets and what reparations Russia demanded was still the stumbling block. With the beginning of 1948, the Soviets embarked on several squeeze measures, destined no doubt to make any ultimate "concessions" appear attractive by contrast.

On January 16, for example, in countering a U. S. proposal to return to Austrians a large part of the control of their country, the Russian delegate on the Four-Power commission charged that the West was re-arming Austria and engaging in propaganda calculated to foster the re-birth of nazism. On January 19, the USSR announced she would double the price of oil, which Austria has to purchase from her own oil-fields seized by the Russians in 1945. This order was later postponed, only to be followed by Russia's request that a commission be sent to Moscow to arrange the purchase of 500 locomotives, 2,000 passenger cars and 12,500 freight cars commandeered by Russia from Austria. When this was refused by Austria, 3,000 freight cars were ordered to be moved eastward out of the Soviet zone in Austria.

Then, on January 26, Moscow came up with new suggestions for the solution of the deadlock, by graciously announcing a reduction of about fifty per cent in her former claims against Austria. According to the new scale, Russia will ask only two-thirds of the oil production and exploration rights in eastern Austria (to run for fifty years), twenty-five per cent of the assets of the Danubian Steamship Company, and \$200 million in reparations to be paid in two years.

It is understandable that Austria, after two years of resisting even more astronomical demands, at first sight thought the new Russian proposals rather acceptable. It is also understandable, in view of Russian double-talk, that closer examination showed Austria there was a joker in the deck.

The new Russian proposals are not only deceptive; they still enshrine absolute injustice towards Austria and the continued violation of Russia's solemn word. For at Moscow in 1943 Russia agreed to treat Austria as a liberated, not as a conquered country, and Stalin formally renounced any claim to Austrian reparations. Even under

the new conditions, Austria would still be an economic vassal of the Soviet.

Austria may indeed be willing to run this risk to get the Russian occupation armies off her back. The Western nations may be resigned to the idea that this is the penalty they will have to pay for the vague wording, the hasty, ill-advised compromises at Potsdam.

But we must not grasp too eagerly the seemingly somewhat easier conditions Russia advances. They may indeed provide a "talking-point" for future deputies' meetings, but from that talking-point there is only one road for the West to follow. Russia must be talked into at least elemental justice toward Austria; we must not be talked into buying the same horse twice.

## **The importance of croquet**

In a week that witnessed the turbulence of Balkan politics—explained as a result of the absence of the distraction of comic-strips in their papers—it is satisfying to encounter evidence of sound thinking and dedication to healthy traditions in Cordell Hull's espousal of croquet as a diversion beneficial to body and mind.

There is no obvious reason why Mr. Hull should be on the defensive, explaining in his *Memoirs* that while to some croquet may seem "namby-pamby, it is really a scientific game." A test of skill, croquet manifestly is; and, as Mr. Hull might have added, a test of character as well. Never to let personal petulance spoil one's progress, to use partner and adversaries carefully in advancing through the staggered stages of successive wickets to a triumphant "stake out" shows the stuff a man is made of. Sideline critics have commented in terms often impolite that Mr. Hull stalked adversaries—especially uncooperative associates—with the relentlessness of a mountaineer rifleman. Rather it was the patient pursuit of the croquet expert, clicking off measured advances toward the goal of free trade in a world secure for free men.

Croquet comes to us from Ireland. Said *The Field, the Farm, the Garden: the Country Gentleman's Newspaper*, in its issue of November 27, 1858: "The game was introduced into the North of Ireland some twelve years ago from a French convent." The "French convent" provenance makes logical the popularity of croquet in clerical circles and gives support to a suspicion of the identity of the "ringer, the champion croquet player of a certain section of the United States," described by Mr. Hull as imported into a match by one of his assistants, Harry McBride. The resourceful methods whereby AMERICA'S "Washington Front" editor gets his information begin to dawn on us. We are unprepared to believe Mr. Hull's modest explanation of his victory as due "probably to the champion's unfamiliarity with

the grounds." Not for someone who has competed at the national centre of croquet, claimed by *The New Encyclopedia of Sports* (in a slight misprint or sheer geographical approximation) to be Norwich, Connecticut. "Ringers" have been known to throw matches.

Mr. Hull endorses croquet because it took his mind off his work and took him out into the open air and sun. But he is clearly unacquainted with the benefits of the game played under the summer stars. And he would be happy to know that his relaxation has ascetical and educational authorization from champions with a passion for anonymity. As fellow players they doubtless wish him green memories of sharp strokes towards the ultimate wicket of universal peace.

## UAW vs. GM

On January 22 Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers (CIO), filed with the National Labor Relations Board an unfair-labor-practice charge against General Motors.

According to Mr. Reuther's affidavit, GM set up an employe-insurance program without having first notified the union or consulted it. This action, the UAW leader claimed, violated a supplemental agreement to the contract signed last April whereby the union's demand for a social-security program would continue "as a subject for discussion and negotiation." Despite an immediate protest by the union when the announcement was made on November 21 (Cf. *AMERICA*, December 6, 1947, p. 254), the corporation went ahead with its plan and scheduled it to go into effect on February 1. Mr. Reuther charged that GM was thus working irreparable harm to the union and coercing its employes to boot.

Six days later, on January 28, Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, issued a complaint against GM, charging that by breaking its promise to bargain on an insurance plan it had violated the Taft-Hartley Act and was guilty of an unfair labor practice. A hearing before an NLRB trial examiner was set for February 10 in Detroit.

The Board quickly followed up this action by seeking an injunction the next day in Federal Court in New York restraining GM from putting its plan into operation until the Board had a chance to act on the unfair-labor-practice charge. The presiding judge stayed the corporation until Tuesday, February 3, when a hearing was scheduled on the Board's plea for an injunction.

Thus in the dry language of a news story began what will likely develop into a *cause célèbre* in the field of industrial relations. By both parties the issue is clearly understood and, barring a change in leadership in the union or corporation or a completely unexpected reversal of policy, it will be fought all the way to the highest court in the land.

The corporation's understanding of the issue was communicated to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare just a year ago at this time. Pleading unsuccessfully for a legal limitation on the scope of collective bargaining, Charles E. Wilson, GM President, said:

Only by defining and restricting collective bargaining to its proper sphere can we hope to save what we have come to know as our American system and keep it from evolving into an alien form, imported from east of the Rhine. Unless this is done, the border area of collective bargaining will be a constant battleground between employers and unions, as the unions continuously attempt to press the boundaries farther and farther into the area of managerial functions.

The union states the issue in somewhat different terms. From its point of view, the rights of management are predicated on laws which have not kept pace with the evolution of the modern corporation. These laws still hold management responsible solely to the corporation's stockholders, although the giant corporation of today is plainly affected with a public interest. In addition to the stockholders, the union argues, management has an obligation to its employes and to the general public. But unless the area of collective bargaining is broadened, management cannot discharge its full responsibility—and neither can the union. For the union also, by reason of its great power, is affected with a public interest; to fulfill its new duties it needs commensurate authority.

This, then, is no ordinary dispute between labor and management. It raises a fundamental issue which must be settled before there can be real hope of industrial peace.

## Commission on Higher Education: II

Publication of the six-volume report of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education is now completed. An introductory editorial on this vast project (*AMERICA*, Jan. 31, 1948, p. 482) stressed the influential part it is bound to play in steering higher educational policy in the U.S. for years to come, and therefore the need of weighing carefully and critically all its recommendations. Volume I was cited as betraying a bias toward a democracy-of-brains ideal which, while greatly extending educational opportunity, threatened the disestablishment of genuine liberal education and a dangerous lowering of educational standards.

The fifth and final volume of policy statements, entitled "Financing Higher Education," confirms our fears that the Commission is bargaining for a predominantly low-standard education for the American masses. The independent or so-called private colleges and universities, in which the liberal-arts tradition is centered, are all but counted out in the Commission's plans and recommendations. Of the predicted 4,600,000 enrollment in higher institutions by 1960, only 900,000 are allocated to independent colleges—approximately the same as the enrollment in these colleges in 1946-47.

Should you ask the Commission why it assumes a static enrollment for the independent colleges, while the tax-supported institutions are more than trebling their numbers, the answer is ready for you on page 57 of Volume V: "Federal funds for the general support of current educational activities and for general capital



outlay purposes should be appropriated for use *only in institutions under public control*" (Italics ours). The Commission proposes the expenditure, between now and 1960, of \$8,064,000,000 (\$672 million each year) for expanding the physical plant of publicly controlled institutions, but not one penny for expanding the facilities of independent colleges and universities. The latter are to be left to the mercy of the continually dwindling private philanthropies. That is a pretty pointed way of saying that the liberal education which the independent schools offer is really not the type of higher education the Commission envisages for the American masses.

A strong dissent to this doctrinaire planning was written by two members of the Commission—and relegated to an appendix. It is nonetheless an eminently reasonable and persuasive dissent, and it represents the views of more than the two Commission members; for a recent poll taken by the American Council on Education revealed that 241 member institutions, or about half of those replying to the Council's questionnaire, voted that Federal funds be made available "to non-profit private as well as to public education."

The dissenters state that the limiting of Federal funds for capital outlay to publicly controlled institutions only, contradicts other policies and proposals of the Commission. And it does. For instance, the Commission recommends a Federally financed program to provide scholarships annually for twenty per cent of the non-veteran enrollment in colleges and universities. Recipients of scholarships could choose to enroll in either independent or publicly controlled schools. But the choice would be bootless. Without government aid for expanding facilities, the independent colleges could accept only a relatively small number of scholarship students. No wonder the Commission predicts the gradual elimination of those private schools which are unable to keep pace with their publicly endowed competitors!

The plain result of the Commission's policies would be the development of a nation-wide system of higher education in which private colleges and universities would play an increasingly minor role. And this result would inevitably bring about governmental domination of the educational process. If experience hasn't taught us what that did to Germany, Italy and Japan, we haven't been learning the major lessons of experience at all.

## The death of Gandhi

In more ways than one the sad event of January 31 recalls Abraham Lincoln's tragedy. Gandhi's assassination occurs at a terribly critical moment in the history of the world. It comes as a frightful shock out of a clear sky. It is the death of a man of the highest moral prestige, and it leaves us with forebodings for the future.

Only in Gandhi's case the forebodings are far greater, since the shot that was fired into his breast was not the work of an eccentric madman, not some poor benighted Booth or Czolgosz, but has already been identified with a deep conspiracy. It has revealed to an anxious world the existence of sources which are moved by the most

destructive passions. Indeed the passion of nationalism is so deep that Gandhi himself was not completely liberated from it. In the character of this man, so enigmatic for the Western world, there were, so it seemed, two somewhat contradictory aspects. Innumerable sources through a generation of India's history have heralded his deeply religious feeling and passionate devotion to his own ideals. "What I want to achieve, what I have been striving and planning to achieve these thirty years," wrote Gandhi in his *Experiments with Truth*, "is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain Moksha." This was the Gandhi who could see no politics as worthy of the name unless they were inspired by religion. This was the Gandhi who wrote: "Because I believe in God, I believe in prayer. It is the surest means of consciousness of His presence; that is its meaning, its strength and its reward." This was the Gandhi of the solemn funeral-bier scattered with rose petals and adorned with flowers worked into religious emblems—the Hindu "saint."

But there was also a political Gandhi, a hero who proclaimed his equal love for all nations and races, but was nevertheless unable to liberate himself wholly from certain elements of a fanatical nationalism. It is a curious paradox that Gandhi's syncretism, his typically Hindu rejection of any absolute, in practice bred a strange intolerance, an unfriendliness to the Christian missions, a blindness to the very nature and teachings of Christ, of whom he so frequently spoke but imperfectly understood.

Of the two aspects—the ideally religious and the subtly nationalistic—which were interlocked in Gandhi's soul, which will win out in India itself? Though Gandhi sought for a blending of religion and politics, that synthesis was only imperfectly achieved. Respect for his memory will be a profound influence for the pacification of India, but when the first shock is over will it hold together a distracted people? A nationalism which for generations has been fostered against the British is now directed towards the Mahrattas who are accused of conspiring to put Gandhi to death. What guarantee is there that this same indiscriminating passion may not be unleashed against the Moslems who are now caught between these two conflicting tides?

Russia is not oblivious to the situation in India. Nothing is more distasteful to Indian Communists than the policy of non-violence. Present communist strategy makes able use of nationalism and, when this use of nationalism is coupled with the hatred of religion, it plays smoothly into Soviet hands.

None can be so foolish as to prophesy the outcome of the terrible drama which is being enacted. It is a testimony to the oneness of the human race, the interdependence of all nations and peoples of the world, that a shot fired into a frail, wizened old man should be of immediate concern not only to all of Asia but to the whole world and its peace as well. May the assassination of Gandhi not prove another Sarajevo. May it be a harbinger of peace, of unity, of expiation for sin; and in the darkness of India's hour of trial may it point the way to that ultimate light and truth for which India has always prayed.

# Give one day for the children

Harold C. Gardiner

You have an extra day this year—an extra day for working, for playing, for praying and for giving. For this is Leap Year, and the month of February—in which the extra day occurs—has been chosen by the United Nations for the launching of its world-wide appeal for the undernourished children of the world.

The United Nations Appeal for Children will go into high gear, and you will hear a good deal about it—about the International Children's Emergency Fund, about American Overseas Aid. Unfortunately, there is liable to be some confusion about these three organizations and what their respective roles are. In the dire need that faces millions of the world's children, any confusion will be a terrible handicap; it is imperative that the need be clearly seen and that all efforts to meet the need be simply understood.

First of all, the need. Literally thousands of reports from abroad, especially from Europe, independent and reliable reports, all converge on one inescapable fact—millions of children are literally starving. There is no way, of course, of counting the last little Hans or Olga on the Continent who is wasting away, but estimates hew fairly close to the figure of twenty-five to thirty million children who are close to a starvation level. If, in addition, we include all children both in Europe and in the Orient who are suffering to a marked extent from malnutrition, estimates reach as high as 400 million, and with malnutrition come the inevitable ravages of the deficiency diseases, as in Yugoslavia, where the inroads of tuberculosis are said to be "enormous" among the smaller children. Further, all the countries, save the Scandinavian, are faced by the staggering problem of war orphans. Yugoslavia has 500,000; Greece 250,000 as a result both of the war and of guerilla fighting; Rumania has 200,000; Hungary, 56,000; Czechoslovakia, 44,000; Poland, 500,000; Italy, 150,000. This problem is gradually being solved in most countries by native social agencies, but the need of the children cannot wait on gradual solution—one out of five Polish infants dies in its first year, Greek boys are three inches shorter than a few years ago.

Further proof of the need comes from the fact that, as of January 28, the International Children's Emergency Fund was actually supplying supplementary meals to 3,700,000 children in twelve countries and sees no end to the demand. The funds now available for the ICEF will be exhausted within six months, and the supplemental feeding program must continue for at least a year if it is even to check the children's decline.

It was to meet this appalling need—and it exists, of course, in even more desperate form in the Orient—that the United Nations approved the establishment, in 1946, of the International Children's Emergency Fund. The

*The Leap Year proposal to the heart of man (the UN Appeal for Children) has the earnest endorsement of the Catholic hierarchy and outstanding American humanitarian organizations. AMERICA's Literary Editor describes the bitter need and the plan to meet it.*

Fund had as its goal to supply one supplemental meal a day to 20 million children, at \$20 per child per year—about three and a half cents a meal. Launched with the good will of fifty-seven nations and a proposed budget of \$450 million (\$200 million from countries receiving aid, \$200 million from donor governments and \$50 million from voluntary contributions), the fund was actually voted a mere \$70 million (\$15 million of this was from the United States, with a promise of \$25 million more when other countries shall have given \$30 million). What it has actually received is a paltry \$39 million. Cut down by over a tenth in its monies, the Fund has been able to realize only a tenth of the good that still remains to be done. This is doubly a shame, for the Fund has proved itself an efficiently operating organization: within ninety days of receipt of its first contributions, the Fund had shipments on the way to Europe. The food destined for the children has got to them, with very little being siphoned off into the black markets.

That the Fund deserved better support from the governments of the world is proved again by the fact that whereas Mr. Maurice Pate, its Director, reported on December 3 that the Fund's feeding programs were operating in seven countries, by January 28 the operations had extended to twelve countries—certainly a record growth in international humanitarian work of this nature. Further, as the *New York Times* observed on December 7, 1947, in reporting conditions among European children and efforts to relieve them: "In no other field is there so much honest non-political activity which cuts right across the East-West barriers."

It is to the shame of the world's governments that they have not come through to support the ICEF. Since it has long been apparent that they would be niggardly, a Norwegian member of the UN secretariat, Mr. Aake Ordning, conceived the idea of appealing directly to the peoples of the world. Seizing on the idea and the opportunity offered by the extra day in 1948, he interested the ICEF in a campaign which asks "give a day's pay." This campaign is what is being sponsored by the United Nations Appeal for Children. Under it, every citizen of the countries that will take part is being asked to contribute one day's earnings, one day's labor or one day's produce.

This was a bold and imagination-stirring concept, and it is rather unfortunate that its edge has been somewhat blunted. It is still being used as part of the United Nations Appeal for Children, but the outlines of "give one day" have been somewhat blurred by the establishment of American Overseas Aid. This organization was set up at the recent suggestion of President Truman to act as the one central fund-raising organization. Twenty-five American voluntary foreign-relief organizations (The

War Relief Services-NCWC is one) are now coordinated, together with the United Nations Appeal for Children, under the direction of AOA, which will allocate all monies raised to the member agencies. The goal set by AOA is \$60 million. Of this only \$21 million will be allocated to the ICEF; the other \$38 million will be dividend proportionately among the twenty-five member agencies and, of this latter sum, only one-half will be used for children's purposes, and not even all of that for the immediate necessity, food.

It appears, then, that from the AOA-UNAC drive this month, the children of the world will benefit to the extent of at most \$40 million from the United States. This sum will, of course, be enlarged considerably by the contributions made by other countries in which the United Nations Appeal for Children will function. This will take place in forty-five countries in drives that will extend to the end of May. Canada, for example, will begin hers on February 9, Czechoslovakia on the 15th, and countries like Finland, Hungary, Italy, San Marino and Switzerland, which are not even members of the United Nations, will join the appeal. There is no way, of course, to compute accurately the total sum that will be realized; it is possible the campaign will succeed in raising the whole \$450 million that was originally envisioned as an adequate budget for the vast undertaking.

That sum stands a chance of being realized if American citizens will set for themselves the goal of "give one day," rather than the somewhat paltry sum of \$60 million asked by AOA-UNAC. Sixty million dollars is less than fifty cents for each American, less than the price of one cocktail. If we compare this *per capita* sum with that which has actually been given by other countries, it certainly does not seem like much of an appeal to the traditional generosity of Americans. Little Switzerland, for example, with a population of four million, has contributed \$4,800,000 to the feeding and care of Europe's needy children—that is \$1.20 for each citizen. If that rate were equaled in the United States during this month's drive, we would reach a goal of about \$170 million.

There are good indications that such a high goal may be attained. Not only have all religious and humanitarian groups endorsed the "give a day" drive, but both labor groups, the AFL and the CIO, have pledged their support, Mr. William Green, president of the AFL, promising a "ready and generous response from the 8,000,000 members . . . and their families."

During the war, one day's outlay for just three countries—the United States, Britain and Canada—was \$112 million. The sum would have provided one supplementary meal a day for five million children for a year. The United Nations Appeal, in asking us to "give a day"—to give 1/366th of our year's income—is calling on us to do for peace a fraction of what we so willingly did for war. That our assistance to the world's starving children will in all truth be a work for peace was stressed by our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in a message addressed to the ICEF on the occasion of the inauguration of the Fund's work in Italy. Speaking through a repre-

sentative, the Pope called the rescue of these children an "urgent humanitarian effort," and then went on to stress its deeper import when he said:

The united efforts of international cooperation and of individual generosity in the common cause of saving these little ones who are the hope of the future and so especially the object of the love of our Divine Saviour cannot but strengthen the bond of charity among nations and further the work of justice which is peace.

As a special feature of the United Nations Appeal for Children, a "Crusade for Children" has been organized.

This will provide a national pattern for the participation of young people in aid for their little brothers and sisters abroad. This aspect of the total drive has, again, been approved by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and all local pastors are urged to interest their children in this salvation of other children. A liaison representative (Mr. John W. Carey) with parochial schools, colleges and youth organizations, with national headquarters at 39 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y., stands ready to assist in any way that may be needed.



You will hear about the drive of the American Overseas Aid—United Nations Appeal for Children in your papers, on your radio, from the pulpit. Is it too much to hope that Catholics especially will be generous enough far to surpass their share of the \$60 million goal, and that they will, quite literally, give their day's pay, their day's labor or their day's produce for their little brothers in Christ abroad?

Not only does the appeal come in Leap Year; it falls, too, within the time of Lent. Perhaps, then, all three motives will converge to make us doubly large-hearted: the spirit of charity, of generosity, and also of penance. But the greatest of these is charity. International charity (and charity means love) poured out on the level of childhood may yet move the heart of the old world to become young enough to love on an adult level. So are the starving children of the world making us beholden to them, for they, in their desperate plight, are giving us the chance to "further the work of justice which is peace."

If we can estimate that there are between ten to fifteen million Catholics in the country gainfully employed, and that their average wage runs to five dollars a day, they alone, by "giving a day" to the children, would provide around \$65 million toward the United Nations Appeal. Is it expecting too much to hope that they will save the equivalent of a day's pay by retrenching on, say, cosmetics, liquor, the movies, when the children of the world are dying for want of such a little thing as milk?



# The Nazi-Soviet documents

Edward Duff

Father Edward Duff, who served as Guest Editor of AMERICA in the summer of 1944, has returned to the Staff as Contributing Editor, after a year of work with the Institute of Social Order at St. Louis and a stretch of teaching at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.

On January 22, on direct orders from Secretary of State George C. Marshall, a mighty salvo in twenty-four languages was loosed in the war of words against Soviet Russia. It began at six A.M. in a studio high up on West 57th Street, New York, when Ho Deyne, speaking in Japanese, began reading a script that in summarizing a lot of history made history: "In Washington the State Department has announced publication of a volume of German Foreign Office documents captured in the war. The documents, 260 in number, deal with Soviet-German relations in the period from 1939 to 1941." Tatiana Hecker, speaking in Russian, repeated the sordid story of Russian-German collaboration over the Voice of America. The incessant and insolent charges of American "imperialism" would have their reply—from the official records.

The pressure on American patience, the resolute working for understanding despite monstrous calumnies shouted across conference tables, can best be gauged from the 357-page book made available at the Office of the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, and in the summary broadcast to the world. It is almost three years since the Ninth Division came on four chateaux in the Harz Mountains where an archivist, Baron von Griesheim, presided over the evacuated documents of the German Foreign Office. Burning newspapers to feign obedience to the nazi command to destroy the records, the archivist succeeded in saving them for historians. The First Army served historical science further by sending 200 trucks to transport the find to safekeeping.

Soviet pressure kept the data from the material of evidence at Nuremberg, but the Russians were warned at the fall meeting of the United Nations by Hector McNeil, British Minister of State, that the provocation of intolerable propaganda against the West might invite the publication of information seriously embarrassing to Russia. When Molotov used the Foreign Ministers' meeting at London as a platform for more egregious name-calling, Secretary Marshall had enough. It was clear that propaganda accusing America of selfish interests was going to be employed relentlessly to frighten European support from the Marshall plan. Let the European people learn, then, the facts of Soviet imperialism and cooperation with nazi enslavement. Perhaps Stalin and Molotov might not have listened with such complete complacency to Mikhail A. Suslov, one of the secretaries of the central committee of the Communist Party, linking "the adventurist policy of America" to nazi methods at the Lenin memorial meeting in Moscow, had they known that the next day's papers would have occasion to resurrect from their files the almost forgotten photographs of the Russian leaders grimacing with satisfaction at the signing of the pact with von Ribbentrop.

"We are playing it straight," a State Department spokesman said, explaining the Voice of America broadcast. "We will have extended commentaries for the next year or two. We don't need any garnishing of the facts, which are damning enough."

The facts—and they are to be supplemented by more material, to be published in a series of volumes under American, British and French auspices—make it clear that: 1) Russia took the initiative in seeking an entente with Hitler; 2) Russia conspired with the Nazis to seize territory; 3) Russia actively and effectively cooperated with the German campaign of conquest in Europe.

In the spring of 1939 querulous complaint was still being heard that Soviet strength was not solicited in defense of Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich. The chorus of condemnation of the "Munichmen" grew as Hitler rolled into Prague, declared a protectorate over Bohemia, brought Slovakia to his obedience and turned up in a battleship to demand Memel from Lithuania. The British were taking the unprecedented step of authorizing conscription. President Roosevelt appealed to Germany and Italy to abjure aggression. Two days later, on April 17, the Russian Ambassador called at the Wilhelmstrasse to report that ideologies weren't important, that there existed no reason on Russia's part why she should not have normal relations with nazi Germany. "And from normal, the relations might become better and better. . ." the diplomat observed.

A month later the German Chargé at Moscow noted with satisfaction the dismissal of Litvinov in the midst of negotiations with the British and French; and the new Soviet Foreign Commissar, Molotov, invited the "creation of a new political basis," preparatory to the resumption of economic discussions, in an interview with the German Ambassador, Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg, later a leader in the bomb plot against Hitler. Back in Berlin the Bulgarian Minister visited the Wilhelmstrasse to report that the Russian Chargé had dropped in on him and in a two-hour talk had declared, with the obvious hope that it would be repeated, that a rapprochement with Germany "was close to the desires of the Soviet Union"; that "if Germany would conclude a non-aggression pact with her, the Soviet Union would probably refrain from concluding a treaty with England."

The suggestion was eagerly seized upon by von Ribbentrop, troubled by fears of a two-front war. The German Ambassador was instructed to arrange for a visit of von Ribbentrop to Stalin to set forth the Fuehrer's views, views that went beyond a friendship pact to include "clearing up jointly the territorial questions of Eastern Europe." Molotov, the Ambassador discovered, "was quite unusually compliant and candid" as he listened to the nazi proposals. With the British and French nego-

tiators at the same time, Von Schulenberg could report, Molotov "sat like a bump on a log," hardly ever opening his mouth except to declare: "Your statements do not appear to me entirely satisfactory." The Allies were being held at arm's length until the German brew came to a boil.

The German version of a proposed non-aggression pact, forwarded on August 18 to hasten the invitation for von Ribbentrop's visit, was promptly answered by a Soviet counter-formulation which had a significant postscript: "The present Pact shall be valid only if a special protocol is signed simultaneously covering the points in which the High Contracting Parties are interested in the field of foreign policy."

Hitler wired his acceptance as the hour for his invasion of Poland drew on. Stalin replied that the pact provided "for collaboration between our countries." And von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow to complete the protocol or—less euphemistically—to delimit spheres of influence or—more plainly—to divide up the map. In a night-long session, interrupted while Stalin proposed a toast to Hitler ("I know how much the German nation loves its Fuehrer!"), the feebleness of the western democracies was joked about, and the strong men awarded the Baltic nations, including Finland, with Bessarabia thrown in, to Russia. Swearing abiding friendship they divided Poland between them and added, in a Secret Additional Protocol: "The question of whether the interests of both parties make desirable the maintenance of an independent Polish state and how such a state should be bounded can only be definitely determined in the course of further political developments." The next day, August 24, the ten-year treaty was signed, to the dismay of the British and French military missions, still in Moscow. Seven days later German bombs began to fall on Poland. Two weeks later Russia invaded Poland, justifying its action in a joint communiqué written personally by Stalin, who found that the text suggested by the Nazis "presented the facts all too frankly." The partition of Poland, agreed to a month before, was effected with small change. Lithuania was claimed by Russia in return for the provinces of Lublin and Warsaw. A formal declaration announced that the two Governments would direct their common efforts for peace.

Should, however, the efforts of the two Governments remain fruitless, this would demonstrate the fact that England and France are responsible for this war, whereupon, in case of the continuation of the war, the Governments of Germany and of the USSR shall engage in mutual consultation with regard to necessary measures.

There were minor matters for consultation, as revealed in a German Foreign Office Memorandum of Dec. 5:

The expulsion of Jews into Russian territory, in particular, did not proceed as smoothly as had apparently been expected. In practice, the procedure was, for example, that at a quiet place in the woods a thousand Jews were expelled across the Russian border fifteen kilometers away. They came back with the Russian commander trying to force the German one to re-admit the group.

A question of bickering that called for high-level decision. Much more expeditiously went the dealings

to promote by all means the trade relations and the exchange of goods between Germany and the USSR. To this end an economic program will be drawn up by both parties, under which the Soviet Union will supply raw materials to Germany, for which Germany, in turn, will make compensation through delivery of manufactured goods over an extended period.

The period was terminated only by Hitler's invasion of Russia, June 22, 1941.

"The status of Soviet raw material deliveries," summarized a German official on May 15, 1941, "still presents a favorable picture." In the month of April, 208,000 tons of grain, 90,000 tons of petroleum, 8,300 tons of cotton had been delivered. Copper, tin and nickel in satisfactory quantities reached the Nazi war machine. From eastern Asia came raw rubber to the amount of 2,000 tons by special train, 2,000 more tons by regular Siberian trains. Manganese ore, the lack of which was supposed to cripple the Nazis, was supplied, as well as platinum and phosphates.

More aggressive was the assistance acknowledged in a telegram from the Wilhelmstrasse, thanking the Russians for the German naval base on the Murman coast, abandoned only because the conquest of Norway made bases closer to England available.

During the strident Soviet clamor for a "second front," the memory of the material supplied to smash the gallant second front maintained by the French and English seemed not to discomfit the Kremlin. Indeed, the Russians congratulated Hitler on his conquests. Notification of the invasion of Norway and Denmark won from Molotov on April 9, 1940 the verdict: "We wish Germany complete success in her defensive measures." Word of invasion of the Low Countries was given him. He "understood" and "had no doubt" of the success of German arms. The fall of France was an occasion for the Foreign Commissar to express "warmest congratulations" and, at the same time, explain that Russia had been forced to occupy Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania "to put an end to all the intrigues by which England and France had tried to sow discord and mistrust between Germany and the Soviet Union." Simultaneously, Russia demanded Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, and Hitler, busy with the Battle of Britain, pressured Rumania to accede.

Failure of the bombing offensive left Hitler restless. On Nov. 12, 1940 Molotov arrived in Berlin for a conference that Hitler announced was "to clarify in bold outline the collaboration between Germany and Russia and what direction future German-Russian developments should take." The USSR was invited to join the Axis and share in the division of the world. Germany, after territorial revisions in Europe, was to get colonies in Central Africa; Italy was to get land in northern and north-eastern Africa; Japan was awarded Eastern Asia. Russia's territorial aspirations were declared to be "in the direction of the Indian Ocean." Molotov agreed with Hitler that "the United States was now pursuing an imperialistic policy," but his agreements were not suffi-

ciently convincing, for it is reported that the two didn't get along either diplomatically or personally.

After consultations with Stalin, Molotov made his answer in Moscow to Nazi invitation to join the Axis. Russia would join if the ante were upped. A base on the Bosphorus for Russian land and naval forces, immediate withdrawal of German troops from Finland, recognition of the area south of Batum and Baku as the center of aspirations of the Soviet Union, renunciation by Japan of her concessions for coal and oil in Northern Sakhalin—such was the Russian price.

Hitler's answer was to draft Directive No. 21, Operation Barbarossa: "The German armed forces must be prepared to crush Soviet Russia in a quick campaign even before the conclusion of the war against England."

The Balkans became a constant area of suspicion as Hitler determined to protect his southern flank, and the Russians coveted the Straits. In the dark days after Dunkerque Sir Stafford Cripps, arriving in Moscow to woo Russia and win trade, had told Stalin that "the interests of the Soviet Union in the Straits must be safeguarded" and that "the British Government was of the opinion that unification and leadership of the Balkan countries for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo* was rightly the task of the Soviet Union." Stalin had replied grumpily that "he had not discovered any desire on their [the Germans'] part to engulf European countries" and that "the Soviet Union would take all measures to prevent the reestablishment of the old balance of power in Europe." And as for the Balkans, in Stalin's opinion "no Power had the right to an exclusive role in the consolidation and leadership of the Balkan countries. The Soviet Union did not claim such a mission, although she was interested in Balkan affairs." Six months later Molotov expressed alarm at German troop concentrations in the Balkans and

the inclusion of Bulgaria in the Axis. The Germans sent airy assurances that their moves were wholly to checkmate the British in Greece. Was it stupidity or fright that moved Molotov to sign a non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia on April 4, 1941? Hitler was unimpressed. Two days later, in a direct affront to the Soviets, the German war machine attacked Yugoslavia and Greece.

But still the Russians tried to appease the Nazis. Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister who had private plans for Singapore, stopped off at Moscow on his way home from a conference with Hitler. He was seen off at the railroad station with great ceremony, for "both Stalin and Molotov appeared and greeted Matsuoka and the Japanese who were present in a remarkably friendly manner." Then Stalin publicly asked for the German Ambassador, went up to him and threw his arms around his shoulders. "We must remain friends and you must now do everything to that end," he insisted. His greeting to the German Military Attaché was as specific and as affectionate—and as hopeful: "We will remain friends with you—in any event!"

It wasn't Stalin's fault that two months later a radio message came to the German Ambassador signed "Ribbentrop," beginning: "Upon the receipt of this telegram all of the cipher material still there is to be destroyed. . . ." Operation Barbarossa had been put into effect. Soviet supporters in America could see now that it was no longer an "imperialistic" war but a "fight for freedom."

The peoples of Europe will be given a chance by the publication of "Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941" to discover who was for "freedom" and who was "imperialistic." The answer to that crucial question is important for America and the world, as well as for the future of Europe.

## East-West trade and European recovery

**Tibor Payzs**

The European Recovery Program is based on the assumption that in the next four years Eastern and Western Europe will gradually resume a normal pattern of trade. This is a factor in the calculations of both the General Report of the Committee on European Economic Cooperation, resulting from the Paris conference of sixteen European governments, and the message of President Truman to the U.S. Congress on the Marshall plan, December 19, 1947.

But Communists everywhere are inimical to the European Recovery Program. In September, 1947, the Communist parties of nine European countries held a conference in Warsaw which resulted in the announcement of the formation of the Communist Information Bureau, the Cominform. A Manifesto was made public which stated: "The Truman-Marshall plan is only a farce, a

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European branch of the general world plan of political expansion being realized by the United States of America in all parts of the world."

Since the Cominform came into existence, a great deal has been done by Communists both beyond and behind the iron curtain to wreck European recovery and to hasten the advent of a communist Continent. Still, East-West trade in Europe, a basic assumption in the calculations for the ERP, has not stopped. In fact, it is on the increase. According to a dispatch of *World Report*, dated December 30, 1947, there are at present seventy-one bilateral trade agreements in force between East and West. At present, however, these represent, at a yearly rate of \$1.4 billion, only thirty per cent of the volume of pre-war trade. Curiously, there seems to be even more anxiety on the part of some Eastern European countries,



such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, than on the part of Western Europe to maintain trade relations with the United States and Britain.

This would apparently indicate a communist inconsistency between political and economic policy. But an analysis of the communist strategy in Europe as it unfolds from recent events, both west and east of the iron curtain, might shed some light on the issue.

In the West, the French and Italian Communists—the only two Western groups which were among the founders of the Cominform—have been on the offensive since the latter part of 1947. In France, however, the communist attempt to tie up the national economy through strikes was unsuccessful. Many workers refused to answer the call for strike, and about 1,000,000 members of the communist-dominated CGT (General Confederation of Labor) have set up a non-communist organization, the *Force Ouvrière*, under the leadership of Léon Jouhaux. On the political side, the considerable support of General de Gaulle's RPF (Rally of the French People) in the municipal elections shows a waning of the French voters' enthusiasm for the Communists. (In the last two national elections the Communists received about thirty per cent of the total vote.) In Italy, the Communists followed the familiar pattern of strikes, political agitation and violence. But there are no communist gains of consequence here, either. The goal of "one communist section for every church tower" has not yet been reached, according to a recent announcement by Pietro Secchia, the chief of party organization. Communists, however, do not as a rule attain power through democratic majorities.

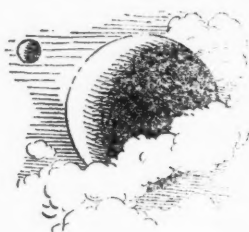
As to its continental strategy, there is little evidence that the Cominform was hoping for victory in France or in Italy before the end of 1947. Activities in these two Western countries were more in the nature of preliminary skirmishes. Before a full attack can take place in the West, the Eastern European hinterland must be solidified.

The Communists still feel the need for "mopping-up operations" in at least some of the countries of the region, both in domestic politics and in the national economies. In addition, they wish to consolidate the political and economic relations of the Eastern European governments both with the Soviet Union and with each other. A further task is the regulation of trade relations with the rest of the world, particularly with the Western European participants in the ERP.

Admittedly the countries of Eastern Europe are communist-controlled. Investigation into their domestic politics, however, shows that the claim that they are ruled by coalition or "National Front" governments may be granted some validity, proceeding from south to north in the region. Of course, Communists occupy everywhere the key positions. But while Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania are, for all practical purposes, one-party states, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia are not—as yet. The Peasant or Agrarian parties, the Socialists, and other non-Communists in the governments are the left wings of those pre-war parties. It has been a question of survival—often only a temporary survival—to follow the communist lead. However, for some time

these parties seem to have had a mollifying effect on communist decisions. It should be noted that the last genuine Peasant leaders, in or out of the governments, such as Petkov of Bulgaria, Maniu of Rumania, Mikolajczyk of Poland, were eliminated only quite recently. More recently, even Alexander Obbov, a left-wing Peasant leader in Bulgaria who seemed to have been a docile communist collaborator, was shoved into the background.

As to the Socialists, in Rumania the formation of a single Workers' Party of the Communists and Socialists is scheduled for early February. Socialists in Poland and Hungary, though left-wing Socialists of course, have been able so far to resist the communist "invitation" to fusion. In Hungary the two parties had separate election slates. The Czech Socialists remain relatively independent. Many large trade unions in these countries are still under socialist, and not communist, leadership. The rank and file of trade unionists have opposed the attempts at fusion. Also proceeding in the south-north direction, one finds minor opposition parties still tolerated. Thus the



communist job in the domestic politics of Eastern European countries is still not fully completed. Undoubtedly, however, the Communists are doing their best. They know that to carry out their plans they must accelerate their pace, for, in view of the recovery pro-

gram, time is definitely against them.

In international politics, there is unqualified orientation toward the Soviet Union as the Great Power upon which alone the "democratic" countries of Eastern Europe can rely. The United States is denounced as "imperialist." And the British Labor Government is aiming at "hiding the true face of imperialism behind the mask of democracy and socialist phraseology." Another significant development is the rapidly expanding system of treaties for political, economic and cultural cooperation among the governments of this region. This development also follows a south-north direction. It began with the closest collaboration, to the point of customs unions, between Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It continued with the extension of the network of treaties to Hungary and Rumania. There are signs of further developments, involving Czechoslovakia and Poland. The ultimate plan for an Eastern European Confederation is not denied, but is rather termed the "music of the future" by no less a Communist than Premier Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria, the chief of the pre-war Comintern. Such a confederation, if realized, would no doubt evolve in time into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Eastern Europe.

The economic pattern follows closely the political one in this area. There is planned economy everywhere: two-, three- and five-year plans are setting up economic goals. In domestic economy, nationalization, next to land reform, is the outstanding feature. Constitutionally, there are three sectors of national economy: na-

tionalized, cooperative and private. Basic industries and large financial establishments are nationalized. Cooperatives play an important role, particularly in food production. With some exceptions, private enterprise is permitted in medium and small industries so long as they remain within the bounds of the over-all state economic planning. Foreign trade and internal wholesale trade are either nationalized or controlled by government agencies. Some of the retail trade is taken over by the cooperatives from private hands. Rapid increase in the industrialization of Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary is planned, and a further shift in Czechoslovakia from light to heavy industry. In general, the similarity to the New Economic Policy of Lenin in 1921 is a striking one. But as the NEP was a temporary stage preceding full sovietization, so there is little doubt as to what is in store for Eastern Europe if the communist planners should manage to have their way.

In foreign trade, the Soviet Union emerges as the principal customer of the region. The various "Plans" of the governments of Eastern Europe are made subsidiary to the Stalin Five-Year Plan for the USSR. This has been brought about by bilateral trade agreements between Moscow and the capitals of Eastern Europe and, in the case of Hungary and Rumania, former Axis satellites, through reparations and the Russian title to "German assets" under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. The latter has occasioned direct intervention by the Soviet Government in the management of some Hungarian and Rumanian corporations, and the joint Soviet-Hungarian and Soviet-Rumanian enterprises in bauxite, oil and Danubian navigation.

But apart from the direct dominant role of the Soviet Union, there is another parallel between foreign trade and foreign politics in Eastern Europe. The region is in the process of being forged into a large economic unit. To this end the rapid increase in industrialization envisaged in the different "Plans" is a basic condition. According to the trade agreements among the governments of Eastern Europe, raw materials and industrial products are to be exchanged in a fashion which will help to transform the non-complementary economies of the countries into substantially complementary ones. Czechoslovakia is an example. Her engineering equipment will go to Poland to produce steel and improve the Upper Silesian coal industry, in exchange for coal, electric power, zinc and food. Yugoslavia will receive Czech industrial equipment for aluminum, iron ore, lead, chrome. Bulgaria will pay for Czech machinery with lead, tobacco, hides, maize and pigs; Rumania pays for it with oil, timber and agricultural products.

Czechoslovakian industry, as it is today, could only partially fulfill the demands upon it. At present, however, more than half of Czechoslovakia's trade is still with the West. While non-communist elements in the Government might sincerely consider their East-West trade a contribution to European recovery, it is certain that Communists view this trade as a means to provide Czechoslovakia with Western industrial equipment—that is, with the tools which will develop her into the machine

shop of Eastern Europe. Much the same applies to the coal which Poland is so anxious to trade for Western machinery. In fact, East-West trade in general must be looked upon in this light.

Thus East-West trade is fostered by the communist-controlled East: 1) because temporarily it still needs Western trade relations for a balanced economy; 2) because the industrial equipment it receives for export is necessary for the attainment of its goal, five years hence. This goal is the political, economic and military self-sufficiency of a combined Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, a veritable new imperial order.

These seem to be the reasons, then, why, in spite of the fact that it helps the ERP, the East is anxious to continue and increase East-West trade.

It is necessary that the West should realize the implications of this trade. Undoubtedly such trade will make the ERP cheaper to the American taxpayer. Moreover, while the United States can make her own economic policy, she cannot dictate the trade relations of the sovereign states of Western Europe. But it should not be forgotten that, while East-West trade is helping the ERP, it simultaneously accelerates the communist plan for Eastern Europe and strengthens the Soviet hinterland for an aggressive hand in Western Europe, the Far East and elsewhere. It is doubtful that under these conditions any future "normalcy" in East-West trade relations in Europe, that is, the pre-war flow of Eastern food, fodder, timber and coal, in exchange for Western industrial products, will be reached or sustained beyond a period of five to ten years.

Still, for complex reasons of international economy, East-West trade must be accepted while it lasts. But the West must consider that trade a "calculated risk" which must be taken with eyes fully open to its place in communist world strategy as a whole.

## Let me not be ashamed

Judy O'Grady

"In Thee, O my God, I put my trust, let me not be ashamed . . . for none of them that wait on Thee shall be confounded." So I read in my missal on the First Sunday of Advent, but the Lord let me be both confounded and ashamed when we came to the Sunday sermon. I literally hung my head; I felt tight and miserable within; but whether I was ashamed for myself, the parishioners or the stalwart assistant pastor, I wasn't quite certain. According to diocesan directive, the speaker proposed to give us a series of catechetical instructions, beginning with a general exposition of the sacraments.

With amused scorn he stated that *some* of us could undoubtedly give the number and names of the sacraments correctly; others could not. I find this hard to believe in a diocese where parochial schools are plentiful

and compulsory; but I am in no position to know the facts of the matter and he is. He had suggested, he said, walking up and down the aisle, as at Sunday school (this was a High Mass), and questioning individuals, but this plan had been vetoed by his superiors as "too embarrassing." He proceeded to explain the meaning of "outward sign." To bring the subject down to our level he used the analogy of a barber-pole and (for humor) alluded to its feminine implications today. And that, God help me, is all I can recall of the Sunday sermon.

I have not discussed this sermon with any one. I have no idea how my neighbors reacted to it. They are, I imagine, more charitable and less critical than I. But I am a fairly typical housewife, busy and burdened as everyone is today. I learned my catechism by rote in grammar school, conned it, with finer perceptions, in high school and again in college, and reviewed it with each of my three school-age children. I shall go through it again when my toddler starts to school.

In our church this morning, among the representatives of our 12,000 families, no doubt some poor stragglers could not name the seven sacraments. But Mrs. A. across the aisle and Mrs. B. beside me had probably heard their children's catechism lesson every night last week. Mrs. A. looks tired, and there are new lines in Mrs. B's forehead. How their parched hearts would soak up the healing oil of a good sermon!

I am not pleading for pulpit oratory. God save us from that. We want sermons to help us in our daily life, to curb our spiteful tongues, to lengthen our patience and strengthen our spiritual muscle. We want to hear the truths of our faith reiterated, yes, but not in the bare fashion in which they were first proposed to us in grammar school.

I have no quibble with the *subject* of our sermon this morning. We most certainly need an interpretation of the sacraments in our parish churches. Connected with each one of them is a wealth of symbolism that modern Catholics forget or never know. Therese Mueller's *Family Life in Christ* contains a section on "Bringing Home the Sacraments" which should be a "must" for every Catholic parent. But how many Catholics even know of the existence of this invaluable little book? (It is published by the Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.) Our Holy Father, in his recent encyclical, has pointed out the vital importance of the liturgical movement and the apathy with which many of the clergy are meeting it.

Like most of the women of my generation, I am hungry for spiritual food. I deal in bodily food all week. At least half my time is spent in planning, buying and preparing meals. For one hour on Sunday I try to refresh my soul. But the words of the liturgy are almost drowned out by the condescending words of a speaker who gives me no insight into God's glory, His goodness, His everlasting mercy, the promise of His coming to earth again at Christmastide.

Times are hard, and the average man and woman are struggling against almost overwhelming odds to earn a living, to bring up their children in the fear and love of God and to keep their souls fresh and watered with the dew of

grace. There are seven gifts and twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost crying aloud to be made into sermons. "Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude . . ."—the words have a ring of eternity about them. They toll deeply and solemnly. If our lives encompassed them we should not be confounded. "Charity, Joy, Peace, Patience, Bignity. . . ."—a dozen fruits for a Christmas basket to lay beside the manger. The words sing in our hearts since childhood, words we can no more forget than we can our own names. But the virtues that lie behind the words—we are ashamed to admit how little we remember them. What peace is there anywhere today but in God and with God? How little joy the world knows, how little patience it practises!

If I were a pastor, with lazy people calling up at all hours with foolish questions, I, too, should probably have a low opinion of the average intellect. But I should aim a little higher than the lowest. And I should, if it were possible, try to mingle more with my parishioners, not only at bazaars and bingos, when they are wearing their company manners, but in their homes, under all



kinds of circumstances. I used to be amused by the parochial calls of Protestant ministers, but I have come to believe that the pastors of large, metropolitan parishes are too far removed from the lives of the people to understand their needs.

Last Lent I asked for and was refused exemption from a strict Lenten fast on the grounds that I did not work hard enough. The confessor said I would have to hold down an outside job to qualify for exemption. Students and teachers may be exempt, and though I have been both, I have never worked as hard as I do now as a housewife with four young children to care for. I am sure my confessor was a kind, well-meaning man, but he was too long away from home and the demands of children to encompass the mental, as well as the physical, stress of their care. Though I would not expect the good Father to know it, mothers of families like mine do not always have time to eat properly at mealtime. Literally, several times last Lent I had only two or three bites of meat at my "one full meal." A bedtime snack is sometimes all that saves me from malnutrition. But spiritual malnutrition cannot be cured with milk and crackers.

Mother Church is not given her feminine appellation for nothing. Surely she understands the problems and pitfalls of the housewife. Our priests have only the all-embracing charity of the Church and their own sympathy and imagination to draw on, to understand a woman's point of view. I make this plea for a practical application of their understanding, both of men and women, through their Sunday sermons. When the Sunday sermon becomes adult, perhaps we shall grow, too, and once again we can "lift our hearts and minds to God" without shame.

(Judy O'Grady is the pen name of a Catholic housewife who lives in a large city in the Middle West.)



# Literature & Art

## What about reading for Lent?

Harold C. Gardiner

Said my friend: "Can you suggest to me a list of books, all on some central point of Catholic doctrine and advancing from the more elementary to the deeper and more comprehensive, so that I may sort of take a reading course in one phase of Catholic teaching?"

"Why, yes," I said, "that ought to be fairly easy to do, but what's got into you all at once? Why this sudden, though laudable urge to do such reading?"

"Well, next week Lent starts," said my friend, "and I've got a brilliant light about what to do for Lent. You know how much I love whodunits, don't you? So, thought I, why shouldn't I give up reading them during Lent, in fact, why shouldn't I give up all secular reading and confine my books to doctrinal and religious? I can do a lot of reading in forty days and, if I make it rather systematic, I can get a much deeper knowledge of one element of the faith, and that will be all to the good, won't it?"

"Absolutely to the good," I agreed. "So, what about concentrating this Lent on the life of Christ? For a start, perhaps you'd like Goodier's *Life of Christ*; then you can go on to books like Fr. Meschler's *The Humanity of Christ*, Fr. Felder's *Jesus of Nazareth*, and from there..."

And so my friend embarked on a yearly custom, and the yearly report is that it's a fine custom. Knowledge of the faith, of Our Lord and Our Lady and all the marvels of the life of grace has grown deeper, and with the deepening knowledge has, inevitably, come a deep-

ening appreciation and love. My friend's life is fuller and happier and more poised, all because some of the treasure that lies all about us has been thoughtfully gathered up, minted into coin of the realm, stamped with the image of the King and used to purchase some of the vast wealth of profound Christian peace that awaits those who will diligently come to buy it.

And that treasure, or at least part of it, is to be found in books. The books that contain it are, of course, at hand for the treasure-seekers all the year long, but perhaps Lent is the opportune time to suggest that the seeking ought to be intensified. It is also quite true that it is generally poor religious psychology to put knowledge of the grandeur and loveliness of Christ's Good News under the cloud of being an act of penance. At least it is poor psychology to threaten little Oswald that if he is a bad boy he will be punished by being made to go to Mass every day for a week. But perhaps adults will realize that the adoption of spiritual reading during Lent is not here urged precisely as a penance. The penitential aspect concerns only the giving up in Lent of lighter, more worldly reading. But that might still be given up and nothing substituted for it. The substitution of spiritual reading for the sacrificed whodunits will be a positive deed for Lent and, perhaps to the surprise of those who have never tried it before, will prove to be even a pleasurable occupation.

Every year, the Religious Publishers Group sponsors the issuance of selected reading lists for Lent, chosen by an annually named selector for the particular religious group—Catholic, Protestant or Jewish—of which he is a member. It was my happy lot to be asked to choose the Catholic list for this year's Lent. Here is the list, and, if I may say so with proper modesty, I do think it is a little library of fine books.

### OUR LORD AND OUR LADY

#### THE LIFE OF CHRIST

By the Rev. Giuseppe Ricciotti

Deep scholarship does not make this life of Our Saviour heavy reading. It is one of the very finest of modern lives of Christ. Its long introduction is particularly valuable.

Bruce

\$7.50

### OUR BLESSED MOTHER

By the Rev Edward Leen, C.S.Sp., and J. Kearney, C.S.Sp.

The high standard Father Leen set in his earlier ascetical works is brought to completion after his death by a competent editor. This is a splendid treatise on Our Lady and her prerogatives.

Kenedy

\$3.50

### LIFE AND ASCETICISM

#### THE PSALMS

Monsignor Ronald Knox, Translator

Monsignor Knox brings to the translation of the Psalms the same felicity of phrase and originality of approach that made his translation of the New Testament a literary masterpiece.

Sheed and Ward

\$2

### THE CHRIST OF CATHOLICISM

By Dom Aelred Graham, O.S.B.

The history of Christ's life is treated in this book, but its value lies beyond that—in its brilliant treatment of the meaning of Christ in His Church and in the individual lives of Christians.

Longmans Green

\$4

### OUR LADY OF FATIMA

By William Thomas Walsh

Doctor Walsh preserves the simplicity of the children to whom Our Lady made the famous visitations. This is really must reading for anyone interested in her place in today's world.

Macmillan

\$2.75

### THE MIND AND HEART OF LOVE

By the Rev. Martin D'Arcy, S.J.

A profound scholarly treatment of the differences, conflicts and complementary nature of supernatural and earthly love. Rather specialized, but one of the year's important books.

Holt

\$3.50

**THIS TREMENDOUS LOVER**

By the Rev. M. Eugene Boylan, O.C.R.

Father Boylan writes in strong manly fashion of the depth and riches to be found in a realization of the tremendousness of God's love for all His creatures.

Newman \$3

**TESTING THE SPIRIT**

By the Rev. Felix D. Duffy, C.S.G.

Though of special interest to spiritual directors, student counselors and the like, this is a very complete and satisfying treatise on the direction of souls.

Herder \$2

**PARDON AND PEACE**

By the Rev. Alfred Wilson, C.P.

All the riches for Catholics in the sacrament of penance are very clearly and lovingly analyzed here. The emphasis is on the constructive side of Confession—not merely the forgiveness of sins but the development of the spiritual life.

Sheed and Ward \$2.50

**THE ART OF HAPPY MARRIAGE**

By the Rev. James A. Magner

This is perhaps the most complete Catholic treatise on married life, down-to-earth and still, as one would expect, emphatic on the spiritual values which are the basis of the sacrament.

Bruce \$2.75

**THOSE TERRIBLE TEENS**

By the Rev. Vincent McCorry, S.J.

Witty, frank and, above all, reverent of the loveliness of young people, this book of do's and don't's is truly a gem for the reading both of youngsters and of their parents.

McMullen \$2.25

**LIVES AND HISTORY****HUMANIST AS HERO**

By Theodore Maynard

Mr. Maynard's ability to make the historical figures of whom he writes come very convincingly alive is dominant again in this life of St. Thomas More, whom Chesterton called "the greatest Englishman."

Longmans, Green \$3

**BLESSED MARGARET CLITHEROW**

By Margaret T. Monro

This has been called a companion piece to Evelyn Waugh's *Edmund Campion*. The same spirit of gay and unostentatious heroism animates this stirring picture of the fortitude of the Catholic laity under persecution.

Longmans Green \$2

**GOD'S AMBASSADRESS**

By Helen M. D. Redpath

Much like Catherine of Siena, St. Bridget of Sweden was one of the world's great women. She swayed the councils of kings and the destinies of states, and the author recaptures all the color and turmoil of the times.

Bruce \$3

**THE LIFE OF ST. CAMILLUS**

By the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J.

In the gigantic, boisterous saint who bent his energies to gentle, even maternal, care of the sick, Father Martindale has found a worthy subject for his brilliant writing.

Sheed and Ward \$2.50

**AS THE MORNING STAR**

By the Rev. Marion A. Habig, O.F.M.

Lives of St. Francis of Assisi are many, but this is more an evaluation of the spirit of the saint than a biography. The book may be called a treatise on how to die in the love of God.

McMullen \$2.75

**DIFFICULT STAR**

By Katherine Burton

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was founded, as one might not expect, by a young French girl. This is the story of how she grew into a true lay apostle.

Longmans Green \$2.75

**THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS**

By Justine Ward

Catholic education in the United States owes a tremendous lot to Father Shields. He was a leader in the improvement of teacher training, methodology and other aspects of education.

Scribners \$3

**FRANCE ALIVE**

By Claire Hutchet Bishop

The author answers the question—what about Catholic life in postwar France? She treats of missions to the workingmen, of the Jocist movement, and other proofs that there is another Catholic renaissance in a land where the Communists get most of the notice.

McMullen \$3

**THE STORY OF A FAMILY**

By the Rev. Stéphane-Joseph Piat, O.F.M.

The story of the Little Flower has been told frequently but this is the first complete account of the wonderful Catholic family of which she is the most famous member.

Kenedy \$3.50

**THE PROGRESS OF THE JESUITS**

By the Rev. James Brodrick, S.J.

Father Brodrick's charming style highlights this second volume in his series on the history of the Society of Jesus. The sweep of the times gives ample scope for Father Brodrick's brilliant historical analysis.

Longmans Green \$3.50

**CATHOLIC LITERATURE****I SING OF A MAIDEN**

By Sister M. Thérèse

Probably the finest anthology of poems in honor of Our Lady has been compiled with obvious loving devotion and unobtrusive scholarship by Sister Thérèse. The introduction is a model of its kind.

Macmillan \$4.50

**A CATHOLIC READER**

Charles A. Brady, Editor

Catholic humanism, gay and supernatural, has been the norm of selection in this very readable anthology. The dedication of the book to St. Thomas More gives an indication of its spirit.

Desmond and Stapleton \$3.50

**WHEN THE MOUNTAIN FELL**

By C. F. Ramuz

This novel is quite lyric in its telling of the triumph of profound married love over the catastrophes of nature. The spirit of the faith runs through it like a quiet undercurrent.

Pantheon \$2.75

**DUST ON THE KING'S HIGHWAY**

By Helen C. White

This novel, which concerns the Franciscan California missions, is very moving in its story of one of the humble heroes who labors toward a martyr's crown.

Macmillan \$3.50

**A WOMAN OF THE PHARISEES**

By François Mauriac

This penetrating study of spiritual self-deception in its life of an apparently very devout woman is a classic of psychological fiction which is characterized by keen spiritual insight.

Holt \$2.50

**PRINCE OF DARKNESS AND OTHER STORIES**

By J. F. Powers

These are some of the finest short stories in the English language. Most of them have a clerical theme and are tinged with gentle satire. They reach a high-water mark in American Catholic letters.

Doubleday \$3.75

Writing in "The Word" column last week (AMERICA, Feb. 7, pp. 528-529), Fr. William A. Donaghy, S.J., spoke of the disease of spiritual immaturity. "Spiritual shallowness, lack of perception, infantile scales of value," he said, "are to be expected in those who are beginners; but God and man alike have the right to expect growth, development, steady progress toward spiritual adulthood." This truth, Fr. Donaghy went on to remind us, has been repeatedly set before the Catholic laity by the Pope. In a letter to the United States some nine years ago, the Holy Father stated: "Our times require that the laity . . . procure for themselves a treasure of religious knowledge, not a poor and meager knowledge, but one that will have solidity and richness, through the medium of libraries, discussions and study clubs." Fr. Donaghy then went on:

Yet many a man, determined to "get ahead," who studies to perfect himself in his calling and will practise for hours to improve his putting, will not be upset by retardation in religion. He is content with the residual ideas, the half-forgotten truths of catechism classes long ago. He would resent it if you called him immature, even though in that most important realm of the spirit he has not yet "put away the things of a child."

It really is worth while to sacrifice a few whodunits for the sake of spiritual maturity. After all, the mystery will still be waiting for your Sherlock Holmes mind to solve after Lent is over, if you *must* solve it. In the meantime, there are other mysteries which neither you nor any human mind will solve; knowledge and love of them, however, deepened during Lent by reading, will help you rise to a nobler spiritual maturity, come Easter.

## Books

### *The man behind psychoanalysis*

#### FREUD, HIS LIFE AND HIS MIND

By Helen Walker Puner. Howell, Soskin. 351p. \$4

It is not the aim of this book "to attempt to evaluate and judge Freud's work *per se*, but only in so far as it sheds light on the man himself and on the influence he has come to have." Certainly the life of Freud, full of conflicts as it was, sheds abundant light on his work.

In both his autobiography and the history of psychoanalysis, Freud had sketched the development of his doctrine. It definitely represents a growth. But Mrs. Puner's analysis is more enlightening, since she saw Freud more objectively than he ever seemed able to do—and that despite his apparent conviction that he not only knew himself, but knew others better than they did themselves. Amazing it is that Freud had so little insight when his theme was Sigmund Freud.

Freud seems quite unaware of his disillusionment with his father, much less of his deep resentment over the Judaism which raised barriers to his acceptance in university and professional circles and hampered the growth of his movement, as he thought. As for his full-blown hatred of Christianity, Mrs. Puner makes a case for Freud's secret desire to embrace Christianity as a stepping-stone to success. Not that Freud ever became religious; he was too much steeped in the materialism and rationalism of his day.

Having immured himself in his cere-

brotonic ivory tower, Sigmund Freud demanded absolute conformity from his followers, yet despised those who gave it ungrudgingly. There could be no compromise, and secession was the only remedy for dissent from the master. This dogmatism accounts for the various schisms and heresies in the history of psychoanalysis. There were two women in Freud's life: his mother, who was the only woman he really loved, and who spoiled him, and his more than faithful wife. Towards her he showed a surprising lack of appreciation. Mrs. Puner believes this attitude was rooted in the fact that Mrs. Freud was incapable of intellectual fellowship with her husband. I used to hear in Vienna that she would have nothing to do with his sexual theories. It would be interesting to know where the truth lies.

The bible of Freudian theory opens with the theme—sex—and every chapter, bristles with sex symbols and innuendos of the ramifications of sex. Not that Freud was licentious; in fact, his personal life is singularly free from any manifestation of sex, and largely even of love—which of course he considered sex-connected. Granting that Freud held an utterly vague and yet unlimited view of sex, as the instinct bent on pleasure; granting, too, that he believed the overt manifestations or gratifications of sex should be subject to rational control, he never sufficiently clarified the concept, and has only himself to blame, as Mrs. Puner insists, for the many misinterpretations of his theory. That is why he had to defend himself constantly against the charge of pan-sexualism and inveigh against "wilde Psychoanalyse" and those who practised it. But the charge sticks, and Ludwig Klages' characterization of per-

sonality, à la Freud, as an "appendix of sex," is still justified.

Freud never could change or control his theory, because he taught utter determinism by the irrational powers and allowed very little efficacy to intellect. If even the curbs of morality are but sex derivatives, if religion, morality, society and art all meet in the Oedipus complex, as Freud "discovered" to his own but especially to our surprise, those who draw pan-sexualist conclusions from Freud have a right to claim Freud as their father. It was the belief of Freud that without benefit of psychoanalysis man could not save himself from the tyranny of the irrational and instinctive. But without the freedom to change, man would be only subject to another tyranny.

Mrs. Puner wishes to eschew evaluation as far as possible; but I fear she fails at times—and, I am sorry to say, quite seriously. According to her, the Oedipus complex has "become established as a lighthouse on the sea of man's emotional life." But does the lighthouse reveal a sexual content universally or even frequently? Or does the term merely mean every child's coming to grips with parental authority—the problem of family control or government? That is the question, and it is not solved by Freud.

Says the author: "Freud established for all time that the unconscious was a part of our biological heritage, that it functions as consistently as the beat of our hearts," and that it is "as little amenable to rational control as those organs." Here again, there is need of extensive qualification. Freud emphasized—over-exaggerated—the power of the unconscious. He did consider it as slightly amenable to rational control. But the problem remains: how could



even Freud, who was after all but human, gain control of it?

*Totem and Taboo* is Freud's "first and to most the finest of his investigations of religion." That may be true, but this evaluation hardly gives the true setting. Twenty-five years after he wrote this book, he embarked on another investigation of religion, which Mrs. Puner gently chides. In the latter he admits the severe criticisms of competent anthropologists of the "anthropological basis" of his theory. But instead of admitting that his theory of religion is as worthless as the worthless anthropological evidence upon which it is

built, he says: "I am not an anthropologist but a psychologist" and he goes on to hold the same thing!

Practically every basic tenet of Freud's system has to be challenged and analyzed, because he generalized beyond his data, chose the evidence that suited his immediate purpose, and neglected the rest. For this reason his theories have never been universally and unqualifiedly accepted, and cannot be as such.

Mrs. Puner has given us a very readable life of Freud, a fine analysis of some of his doctrines, but her evaluations are often at fault. One can learn

much about Freud from this book. One protest may be allowed: why did the publisher stop numbering the quotations after no. 53?

HUGH J. BIHLER, S.J.

### *Clinical record of education*

#### A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

By John S. Brubacher. McGraw-Hill. 688p. \$4

The author of this work has found that conventional histories of education, which are organized principally according to temporal epochs, do not hold the interest of students of education. Hence he has essayed a new approach by organizing his book, not on the great epochs of the past, but on the problems or problem areas of contemporary education.

Thus, instead of having chapters on Greek, Roman, medieval education, and the like, this volume has chapters on aim, method and curriculum; on elementary, secondary and higher education; on political, psychological and philosophical bases of education; and the like.

The merit of this scheme, he thinks, is that each chapter begins and ends with contemporary interests. And to avoid the risk that a work centering on present-day interests may soon be outdated by changing conditions and viewpoints, Dr. Brubacher focuses attention on the problems that occur again and again throughout history. He hopes in this way to equip educational practitioners with the clinical record of these problems and their accumulated solutions.

What is at once evident, and exceptional, in this book—as it was in the author's earlier *Modern Philosophies of Education*—is not only Dr. Brubacher's considerable knowledge of certain aspects of Catholic educational theory and practice, but the pains he takes to present the Catholic position and contribution fairly and fully. This quality in his books is an agreeable contrast to the ignorance or bias one finds in most American histories of education when they treat of Catholic educational philosophy and procedures. Their authors often appear to be scholarly on all but the Catholic phase of the subject.

Whether Dr. Brubacher's approach to the history of education is more effective than the usual epochal treatment is a question on which there will be a decided division of opinion.

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This reviewer is inclined to prefer the older approach, sharpened a good deal, however, by the insights and more direct contact with current problems which Dr. Brubacher's volume affords. The older method has the advantage of leading the student, under a competent teacher, to an awareness of the distinctive contribution of great educational thinkers, institutions and systems; and an awareness of this contribution as a whole. Dr. Brubacher's problem approach tends to fragmentize and, short of ceaseless repetition, to omit significant phases of these several contributions.

One instance in many of this seemingly inherent defect of the problem approach is the subject of Jesuit education, which Dr. Brubacher deals with almost exclusively under the heading of "Methods of Instruction" (pp. 186-193). What he there says is for the most part admirably and fully said. But the Jesuits had a philosophy of education and their own directives for applying Catholic theory to their world-wide chain of schools, both secondary and collegiate. They had a teacher-training and supervisory program very much in advance of the time when they were initiated. Nor is it quite in keeping with the author's avowed aim of making contact with the present to imply that Jesuit education is merely history. In the U.S. alone, there are twenty-seven Jesuit institutions of higher learning—ten of which are *bona fide* universities—educating this year 96,953 students; as well as thirty-eight secondary schools with an enrollment of approximately 25,000. The Jesuits have hundreds of schools in Europe and in the foreign mission fields; recognized universities in the Lebanon, in China, Japan, India, etc.

An up-to-date, objective history of education should somehow be able to present the complete theory and practice of major systems. When all this is said, however, it is far from saying that there is not a great deal to learn from Dr. Brubacher's approach and from the very careful arrangement of his materials. The present reviewer would certainly have *A History of the Problems of Education* close at hand in planning and giving a course in educational history.

ALLAN P. FARRELL

*A Reminder:* "America this Week," our weekly news commentary every Thursday, 7:15-7:30 P.M. over WFUV (90.6 on the FM dial).

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**THE JUDGE'S STORY**

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Charles Morgan's latest novel dramatizes, within the narrow compass of 184 pages and with the symbolic economy usually associated with poetry, the conflict between good and evil. The characters are not, however, mere abstractions or vehicles for allegory; they are convincingly real. But while both action and dialog have a clean conciseness, they are at the same time full of over-tone and symbolism for the reader.

The story is "the Judge's story" in that it concerns the attempt of Judge Gaskony to hold fast to his integrity in the face of the fantastically wealthy Severidge's efforts not so much to destroy him as to dominate him, to make him bow down and worship. Gaskony, a retired judge, is a gentleman of scholarly interests who cares nothing for the effects or the show of success, or even for the show of scholarship. His book, *The Athenian*, he wants to finish not for the solid fame it may give him among scholars, but because he wants to "live the book" as he writes it. He is a man of inner vision, and a man of deep moral honesty.

Severidge, the wealthy connoisseur, in spite of his business success, has found no inner peace, no sense of being somebody. "Rich in intellect, vigorous and skillful in action, not without benevolence," he is "spiritually without core." Aware that Gaskony has this very quality that he lacks, Severidge tries to "penetrate it" and bring Gaskony into subservience to him through his one great weapon of power—money. The story of his attempt and of its implications for Gaskony's ward, Vivien, and for her husband, is deftly told.

In spite of the underlying theme of the book, Morgan does not move much beyond the values of Victorianism. In a sense, that is the limitation of the novel, for the brief flashes in which the grandeur of the theme is suggested remind one of how differently the Russian or the French mind would handle it. In another sense, however, Gaskony emerges as a representative of the best in Victorianism, an Oxford Hellenist with a firm belief in Socrates' dictum that "the unexamined life is not worth living." Charles Morgan tells *The Judge's Story* in a way that will delight anyone for whom this world of intelligence and sensitivity to moral values still has meaning. A. S. RYAN

**A note on Catholic art**

Magnificent medieval tapestries, supreme glories of Catholic art in France, comparable to the rose windows of Chartres and Notre Dame and the tenuous spires of Beauvais Cathedral, have been brought under guard to New York on the French warship *Georges Lègues* and will be on view at the Metropolitan Museum until February 21. The collection contains tapestries ranging in time from these marvels of the fourteenth century down to the modernisms of Gromaire and Raoul Dufy.

It is unquestionably the tapestries of the fourteenth century—the remarkable series of the *Apocalypse* from the Cathedral of Angers, of the *Legend of Saint Stephen* from the Cathedral of Saint Etienne at Auxerre and of the *Life of the Virgin* from the Cathedral of Rheims (a sixteenth-century carry-over of the robust and exuberant medieval tradition)—which are the artistic high notes of the entire exhibition. These gorgeous examples of the weaver's art, miraculous survivors of war, pillage and the moth, are superior in every way to the tapestries on view from later centuries. The web is thicker; the color, in spite of age and limitation of range, more delightful and more vigorous; the design, more charming and more daring.

The superb series of the *Apocalypse*, commissioned in 1375 by the Duke of Anjou and bequeathed to the Cathedral of Angers, are the oldest European tapestries known. Hung in the Cathedral on feast days and for coronations of the Dukes and Kings of Anjou, they represent seventy-three scenes from the Apocalyptic visions, the most dramatic of which are the battles of the "witnesses against the beast from the bottomless pit" and the "casting out of the dragon from heaven by Saint Michael and his angels."

*The Legend of Saint Stephen*, a set of twelve especially designed to be hung in the choir of the Cathedral of Auxerre and presented by Bishop Jean Baillet, is an equally fresh marvel of wool and silk; and the high points of this series are the representations of the "Miracle of the Stubborn Mules" and the "Burial in Rome of the Bodies of Saint Stephen and Saint Lawrence."

Perhaps the most delicate of all the contributions to this stirring exhibition is the series dealing with the "Life of the Virgin," presented to the Cathedral of Rheims by Archbishop Robert de Lénoncourt. These seventeen episodes, measuring generally about two hundred and ninety square feet each, are done



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The incident is compelling in itself and in its symbolism, as once again we stand on the threshold of Lent. For everything about this season should remind us of the cross; it leads to the cross, it is dominated by the cross. And that yearly revival of vision, that intensification of our spiritual lives which Lent calls for, should affect in us a

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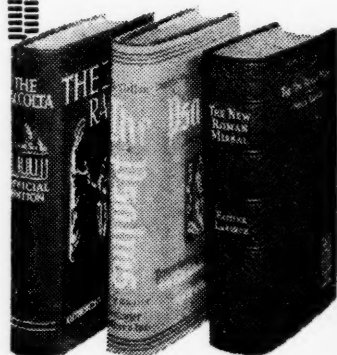
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definite change of heart, a minor conversion, a re-orienting of our lives, if perhaps they have detoured from the strait way that leads to salvation. "The question 'how to live,' wrote Matthew Arnold, "is the question which most interests every man, and with which, in some way or other, he is perpetually occupied." That question has been settled for us, in its broad outlines at least, by the life and death and resurrection of the historical Christ, by the deathless life of his infallible interpreter, the Mystical Christ, the Church. Our Lenten self-examination therefore is rather pointed at discovering how faithful we are to those divine directives. We know them. We have chanted them glibly as children in catechism class; we have had them expounded, applied, particularized in the Catholic pulpit and press; we have renewed them in our reading. Our question is not so much "how to live" but "how are we living?"—with what fidelity to our faith, with what generosity towards God, with what response to grace? Lent is a time of special, spiritual opportunity. "He will call upon me," says the *Introit* of the Mass for the first Sunday of Lent; and then—to insist on the need of our cooperative activity—it goes on, "and I will hear Him" (Ps. 90:15). The Collect drives home the equation between divine generosity and human effort: "O God, who dost purify thy Church by the yearly observance of Lent; grant to thy household that what we strive to obtain from Thee by abstinence we may secure by good works."

St. Paul, in the epistle, lists some of his labors for Christ, and points out that he carried himself blamelessly "in tribulations, in hardships, in distresses; in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults; in labors, in sleepless nights; . . . in kindness, in the Holy Spirit, in unaffected love." Primary with him was his ministry, his love of Christ, compared to which his sufferings and labors were minor and secondary indeed. So should it be with us, likewise.

We may not recognize ourselves in the tense figure of Joan Gualbert, dagger in hand, advancing on his foe—though, God knows, some of us harbor grudges and refuse to forgive. But just as he was hag-ridden by a passion which dominated his whole being, so we, too, have some predominant fault, sin or inclination which time after time betrays us into infidelity. Lent is the time to examine and correct that basic weakness.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

## Theatre

LOOK, MA, I'M DANCIN'! The egg of this musical, presented at The Adelphi by George Abbott, was incubated in the mind of Jerome Robbins and hatched into a story by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee. A brewer's daughter with an itch for toe-dancing finances the cross-country tour of a ballet company, with the stipulation that she will be a featured ballerina. Because the program duplicates the repertory of every other company following the classic tradition, the tour is a box-office failure until a young man with original ideas, in the absence of the impresario, perks it up with American humor and wins the acclaim of press and public. In the meantime the heiress, convinced by experience that she is too flat-footed for dancing, discovers that her talent runs to management rather than art. After inducing the genius and most of the company to sign better contracts, she presents the impresario with an ultimatum that he must modernize, or else.

Here is a story that in essence is more adult than *Oklahoma* and could be as mature in the realm of art as *Allegro* in the field of medical science. I revere the art of drama just a little short of idolatry, but I certainly would not want American playwrights to devote their talents to rewriting Sophocles and Shakespeare. If it were not for the Ibsens, Shaws (Bernard and Irwin), O'Neills and Andersons, drama would be a static instead of a living art; and while I am not familiar with the progress of the ballet, I have a notion that it is being changed from a long-haired to a popular art by new ideas contributed by Mr. Robbins and Agnes de Mille. Precisely how the authors—pardon, the writers—managed to overlook the significance of the theme and come up with only a script for a mildly entertaining musical comedy is a left-handed miracle.

Hugh Martin's music is considerably less than inspired, but two of his songs, *I'm The First Girl* and *I'm Tired of Texas*, are humorous if not too melodious. The sets by Oliver Smith are undistinguished, while John Pratt's costumes are appropriate but nothing to cause excitement. George Abbott and Mr. Robbins are responsible for the direction and choreography, with the latter turning in a superior job.

There are several capable perform-

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ers in the cast, with Nancy Walker, starred in the production, topping all the others. As the brewer's daughter with a yen for dancing, Miss Walker's humor is a compensation for the deficiencies of the script; and her husky voice almost defeats the murderous acoustics of The Adelphi. The gal has class, and I hope to see her in another show comparable with *On the Town* at least once more before I claim my well-earned seat in the Golden City, not too far from the archangels.

Harold Lang and others in the cast make their roles more vivid than they were written. Thanks to their efforts, *I'm Dancin'* is a good show. It would be a better show if the script-writers were a bit more imaginative, Nancy Walker may make it a hit.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**A MIRACLE CAN HAPPEN.** On a monotonous note of cynical whimsy, producers Benedict Bogeaus and Burgess Meredith spin out an episodic all-star divertissement. Meredith himself furnishes the binder as a frantic newspaper clerk trying to solve his financial and marital difficulties by bluffing his way into the job of Roving Reporter. The struggles to elude his creditors and conceal his plight from employers and wife (Paulette Goddard) are interspersed with three flashbacks evoked by his question: "What influence has a child had on your life?" James Stewart and Henry Fonda seem to be enjoying themselves hugely as a pair of insolvent musicians describing their troubles with "Baby," a statuesque brunette who turned to her own profit their scheme to raise money by "fixing" an amateur contest. Dorothy Lamour steals the show with a song parodying her screen success; but her story of a noxious Hollywood brat who started her on the road to fame fritters away its satiric barbs in a discomfiting attempt at pathos. The producers' disenchanting outlook on children reaches its pinnacle in the travails of Fred MacMurray and William Demarest, a pair of confidence men caught in the toils of a devilishly ingenious runaway boy, for whose return to his family they hope in vain to be rewarded. There is a certain charm in watching the various stars behaving in undignified fashion, but the novelty palls and the dog-eats-

dog motivation of the characters is distasteful. (*United Artists*)

**YOU WERE MEANT FOR ME.** The effects of the depression on the idyllic marriage of a popular band leader and his naive young bride are here explored with no particular effort in the direction of either profundity or depth; and the very real dilemma faced by musicians in lean times is solved with neat dispatch and practically no wear or tear on the emotions of even the most susceptible of family audiences. As a showcase for some of the catchier tunes of the period the story serves well enough, and is immeasurably enlivened by the ebullient performance of song-and-dance-man Dan Dailey. Jeanne Crain is the winsome heroine, and Oscar Levant as the perennially hard-shelled friend with a heart of gold manages to extract considerable humor out of some uninspired lines. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

**RELENTLESS.** A cowpoke's love for his piebald mare and her foal share the spotlight with his hunt for the man who framed him on a murder charge in this intelligently conceived Western. Mere sound and fury are replaced with solid human values, and subdued Technicolor enhances the flavor of a prospecting settlement and points up the contrast between the snow-packed mountain pass—where the chase begins—and the scorched desert which sees its culmination. Robert Young and Marguerite Chapman efficiently head a cast not usually associated with boot-and-spur epics. This adds a further note of refreshment to an unpretentious but enjoyable *family picture*. (*Columbia*)

**TENTH AVENUE ANGEL.** Christmas Eve for one small slum child was a time of pent-up anguish. Mother was dying; Father had gone to hock his fiddle to pay for the new baby; Uncle Steve was being tempted from the straight and narrow path; and the little girl was grappling with a bitter distrust of the adult world. Obviously a succession of miracles was needed to avert tragedy, and just as obviously they occur—in a sentimental distortion of life which leaves the child ripe for disillusion once more. Young Margaret O'Brien's acting loses none of its controlled intensity or conviction, but her vehicles are becoming increasingly less tolerable to the parents constrained to accompany their youngsters. (*MGM*)

MOIRA WALSH

## Parade

DURING THE WEEK, THE SITUATION with respect to family life continued to deteriorate. . . . Divorce courts everywhere were jam-packed, as spouses nibbled, termite-like, at the foundations of the American home. . . . No pretext was too trivial to blow up a home. . . . A Wisconsin husband's dog tracked mud on his wife's freshly scrubbed kitchen floor. Divorce followed. . . . A Pennsylvania husband used his cellar as headquarters for his sandlot football team. His wife said she couldn't hang up the wash amid so many sandlot uniforms. Divorce followed. . . . A St. Louis, Mo., deaf-mute wife liked going places frequented by other deaf-mutes. Her deaf-mute husband didn't. Divorce followed. . . . The interest in property settlement remained keen. . . . A divorcing Michigan wife insisted on securing ownership of ninety-three bars of soap and 250 pounds of flour. . . . A New Jersey spouse, after informing the court that her husband had disappeared with her car, declared: "All I want back is the automobile." . . . Tiny trifles were blown up into tremendous trifles. . . . In California, a small spot on the wall broke up a home. A husband, after berating his wife for being unable to remove the spot, got soap and water, began working on the thing himself. His rubbing made the spot larger. Describing the scene, the wife said: "So he got more soap and rubbed some more, but the spot grew and grew and he got madder and madder. I just stood watching, and that seemed to irritate him more." . . . Divorce followed. . . . Confusion reared its head. . . . A California woman petitioned for divorce from one of two brothers, asserted she did not know which one. . . . Ignorance concerning the very nature of the marriage contract was manifested. . . . A young Omaha couple had the marriage-bureau clerk witness a document under which the groom could get a divorce after a year, if he wanted one. The bride was to pay all the expenses for the divorce. . . . In New Mexico, when a judge who was performing the marriage ceremony reached the words, "I now pronounce you man and wife," the groom asked that the phrase "Provided it works" be added. The judge refused. . . . Even hard-boiled court attendants were being shocked by the light view of marriage now prevailing. . . . Clerks in the

Las Vegas, Nev., courthouse were recently staggered by a "two-day marriage." On Saturday these clerks issued a marriage license to a bride and groom; on the following Monday the same clerks received a petition for divorce from Saturday's bride. . . . So wild and furious has the present divorce orgy become that even secular papers are expressing alarm for family life in America. . . . A paper in Hammond, La., speaking of divorce, recently commented: "It has almost reached the point where marriage alone is considered sufficient grounds for divorce."

As the alcoholic with liquor, so is human nature with respect to divorce. . . . Human nature cannot take divorce and let it alone. . . . History shows that whenever human nature gets its hands on divorce, society gets divorce-drunk and stays drunk until divorce is taken away from it. . . . The cure for the alcoholic is not a little liquor, now and then. . . . The cure is—no liquor. . . . The cure for a divorce-hopped society is not a little divorce, for a few seemingly weighty reasons. . . . The cure is the strict application of a Keeley treatment to the disease of divorce.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

*Selected by Father Gardiner for inclusion in the 1948 Catholic Lenten List . . .*

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# Correspondence

## **FBI and loyalty tests**

EDITOR: I have read with considerable interest the article entitled "Loyalty tests for Federal employees," which appeared in the January 17, 1948 issue of AMERICA, and I wanted you to know that the conclusions it reached represent the position which I took when I appeared before the Loyalty Review Board on December 4, 1947.

When I appeared before the Loyalty Board and outlined the various problems with which the FBI was confronted under the Federal Employee Loyalty Program, I specifically emphasized that it was not the function of this Bureau to "make charges" against any governmental employee but it was our function to investigate charges and allegations made by other persons. I pointed out that the FBI is a fact-finding agency; that it is not our function to "clear" or convict anyone; that we do not draw any conclusions from or make any recommendations upon the information which we develop during the course of our inquiries. I explained that it is the function of the FBI merely to gather the facts and present them in report form to the agency for whom the employee works. I pointed this out very clearly to the members of the board because I feared that some of them might have the same impression which a portion of the public has, namely that the FBI is investigator, jury, prosecutor and judge in this project, which, of course, is absolutely untrue.

I then explained to the Loyalty Review Board that this Bureau could pursue one of two courses so far as identifying informants is concerned in handling loyalty investigations in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 9835. I stated that there are many persons who come to this Bureau with information but impose upon the Bureau the requirement of not disclosing their identities; that many of these persons are professional men of good standing who are sincere and honest but who do not wish to become involved in any public hearings or examinations. I stated further that there are certain sources of information employed by the Bureau whose identities the Bureau would be precluded from disclosing because to do so might imperil the overall problem of security of the country.

The Bureau, upon interviewing any person incident to the loyalty program could first state to such an individual that anything he might say would have to be reduced to writing and sworn to and that that person should be prepared to publicly testify at a loyalty hearing, and unless such a person was willing to meet these conditions the Bureau was precluded from taking any information from that person. I then pointed out that the other alternative would be to incorporate in report form all information received by the Bureau from all sources, indicating those who were willing to be identified and, in those instances where a person interviewed did not desire to be so identified, to evaluate the reliability of the informant whose identity would remain anonymous. I told the members of the Loyalty Board that whichever alternative they decided to follow would be entirely agreeable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The result was that the Loyalty Board adopted the second alternative, namely, having the Bureau incorporate all information from all sources in its reports in the loyalty cases, indicating those sources that were willing to be identified and evaluating those sources as to reliability who wished to remain anonymous. This seems to me in no way to place the Bureau in the category of a "secret police" or "Gestapo" or an organization which makes the charges and brings in the conviction.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Washington, D. C.

## **Study ERP**

EDITOR: At the University of Detroit we have decided to interrupt our program in Political Science at the beginning of the second semester in order to devote two full weeks to a study of the European Recovery Program (or Marshall plan). Four hundred students in State Government will be affected. Possibly other Catholic colleges and universities will be interested in our reasons and method.

The overpowering reason, of course, is that the ERP confronts the American people with the most momentous political decision of our generation. The fate of western Europe is hanging in the balance. The United States, and it

alone, can tip the scales. Yet we cannot bank on more than probable success, and the outlay will undoubtedly affect our national economy. The tremendous issues involved have already evoked different reactions from responsible statesmen like Mr. Baruch and Mr. Hoover, as well as seemingly partisan opposition from party leaders and businessmen. These issues must be disentangled by separating honest differences of opinion from mere jockeying for political and economic advantages. We have to study the needs and probable effect of aid from Europe's point of view, the control of domestic inflation as a necessary condition to our making the aid available, the precise form of the aid, and the much discussed question of how it is to be administered. In spite of the dimensions and complexity of these issues, we must, without needless delay, reach a decision.

The materials for a searching study are at hand. The Administration's bill, now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is included in the *Outline of European Recovery Program* submitted by the State Department to that Committee. The Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, *The Impact of Foreign Aid Upon the Domestic Economy*, is likewise available. Both documents may be obtained by writing to one's Congressman or to a Senator.

The Report of the President's Committee on Foreign Aid, *European Recovery and American Aid* (the Harman Report), is the most comprehensive study. It is obtainable from the U.S. Government Printing Office (sixty cents, prepaid). The Herter Report should be studied. The Carnegie Foundation for International Peace (405 W. 117 St., New York, N. Y.) devoted the December, 1947, issue of *International Conciliation* to the ERP. Copies cost only five cents each. The NAM will furnish copies of its Twelve-Point Anti-Inflation Program gratis (14 W. 49th St., New York 20). The weekly press, including AMERICA, and the daily press, notably the New York Times, report current action on the recovery program, both inside and outside of Congress.

AMERICA has suggested in "Historic Session" (Jan. 17, p. 426) that "at a time like this there is a duty of citizenship to make one's thoughts known to one's representatives in Washington." These "thoughts," if well informed, will carry weight.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT  
Detroit, Michigan.



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